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South and Central America; Mexico

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The documents in this volume are drawn from the centralized indexed files of the Department of State and the decentralized Bureau, Office, and other lot files of the relevant Departmental units. The editors also make extensive use of Presidential and other papers at the Lyndon B. Johnson Library in Austin, Texas, as well as recordings of President Johnson's telephone conversations. In addition, the volume includes records of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Almost all of the documents printed here were originally classified. The Information Response Branch of the Office of Information Programs and Services, Bureau of Administration, Department of State, in concert with the appropriate offices in other agencies or governments, carried out the declassification of the selected documents.

The following is a summary of the most important issues covered in each chapter. Parenthetical citations are to numbered documents in the text.

Summary

Regional

On November 26, 1963, President Johnson announced that relations within the Western Hemisphere would be "among the highest concerns of my Government." Three weeks later, Johnson delivered on this promise, giving Thomas C. Mann full authority to coordinate and direct U.S. policy in Latin America as Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, U.S. Coordinator of the Alliance for Progress, and Special Assistant to the President. (1) Mann's appointment set the tone for U.S.-Latin American relations during the Johnson administration. The previous emphasis on the lofty ideals of the Alliance for Progress soon gave way to more mundane concerns, the prosecution of Cuban subversion and the promotion of U.S. business. (2) This change, however, did not go unnoticed. In March 1964, after a major presidential address on the U.S. commitment to the Alliance, *The New York Times* reported that Mann advocated a new policy, the "Mann doctrine," under which a dictator, for instance, would be judged principally on what he did to further American interests rather than on what he did in his own country. (10) The press also published reports that the President had "abandoned" the Alliance, a charge that Johnson actively countered by citing the public works record of the program. (13) Throughout his administration, President Johnson sought in vain for ways to "revitalize" the Alliance for Progress. (30, 43) In fact, while the Alliance may have initially "lost its way" under President Kennedy, it never recovered from his assassination.

Meanwhile, the Johnson administration was concerned by the threat of Cuban subversion in the Hemisphere, particularly as a result of an arms cache discovered on the Venezuelan coast in November 1963. (3, 4) After determining that the arms were of Cuban origin, the United States decided to seek sanctions against Cuba within the Organization of American States. (9) With the Venezuelan Government assuming the lead, the 9th Meeting of Foreign Ministers (OAS) approved a resolution in July 1964 requiring member states to suspend commercial relations with Cuba and recommending a corresponding break in diplomatic relations. By September, only Mexico continued to maintain diplomatic relations with Cuba. The resolution also established the legal basis for the use of military force against any future instance of Cuban intervention. (23) The threat of subversion, Cuban or otherwise, did not abate with the approval of formal declarations. In April 1965, the Special Group approved a plan to support a counter-insurgency group in Peru as a pilot project to meet the threat of Communist "wars of liberation." (28) Similar programs were subsequently established with U.S. assistance in Ecuador, Venezuela, Colombia, and Bolivia. In May 1967, a small Cuban guerrilla force was captured trying to infiltrate Venezuela, evidently justifying retaliation under the OAS resolution. (53) The OAS passed a new resolution condemning Cuba at the 12th Meeting of Foreign Ministers in September, but refused to take any military action. (64) The threat of Cuban subversion dramatically subsided, however, with the capture and death of Che Guevara in October. By March 1968, the Central Intelligence Agency concluded that Cuban insurgency was active

in only three countries—Colombia, Guatemala, and Venezuela—and that in each case the movement, although troublesome, did not pose a serious threat to the government. (70)

The high-point of President Johnson's involvement in Latin American regional affairs came in April 1967 with the Punta del Este conference. In October 1966, as political circumstances favored holding the conference, the Johnson administration began to debate the details of its summit program. (41) After encountering opposition primarily due to balance of payments concerns, the President approved a reduced economic assistance package designed to promote economic integration and other reforms throughout the Hemisphere. (48) One week before the conference, however, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee rejected a joint resolution indicating congressional support for the package, thereby casting a shadow over the administration's entire Latin American policy. (49) The summit itself was somewhat anticlimactic; the only real drama came when Ecuadorean President Otto Arosemena Gomez publicly criticized the Alliance for Progress, a stance that was poorly received—not least by President Johnson. (51) Although unable to turn Arosemena, Johnson was more successful in one-on-one meetings with other heads of state. (52) In fact, the strength of Johnson's Latin American policy was also its weakness: he tended to see political affairs in terms of personal relationships. This tendency is more pronounced in the bilateral compilations of this volume.

Central America

The compilation on Central America deals primarily with bilateral relations between the United States and four countries: Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua. The documentation presented is not comprehensive but episodic, focusing on such matters as presidential elections and counterinsurgency efforts to illustrate the nature and extent of U.S. involvement with those countries. The United States has traditionally supported Costa Rican democracy, avoiding involvement in domestic politics including Presidential elections. The election of February 1966, however, proved an exception. The leading contender that year was Daniel Oduber, candidate of the Partido Liberacion Nacional. Although the PLN usually enjoyed an electoral advantage, Oduber faced a strong challenge from José Trejos Fernández, candidate of the National Unification Party. Oduber was concerned enough about the outcome that he sought support from an unusual source: Vice President Hubert Humphrey. In a meeting with Humphrey, September 15, 1965, Oduber said he needed outside assistance "for his campaign to be really successful." Humphrey evidently agreed to enlist "some labor friends of his." (79) Whether Humphrey actually delivered on this promise is unclear; Oduber, on the other hand, clearly believed that he would receive financial support from the U.S. Government. In early December, Oduber asked when the money would be forthcoming. As a result, the Johnson administration was suddenly forced to decide whether to intervene in the Costa Rican Presidential election. (81) In assessing the situation, the Embassy reluctantly concluded that "prospects for smooth transition to a new administration and the effective functioning of that administration would be best in the event of an Oduber victory." Trejos narrowly defeated Oduber in the February Presidential election.

Soon after becoming involved in the Costa Rican election, the Johnson administration faced the possibility of intervention in a more traditional place: Guatemala. In December 1965, the United States received reports that a right-wing military group might stage a coup d'état against Colonel Enrique Peralta Azurdia. The coup leader, Colonel Miguel Angel Ponciano, was concerned that Peralta might block his candidacy in the Presidential election scheduled for March 1966. The coup was evidently defused when the Embassy told Ponciano that the United States supported free elections in Guatemala and opposed any attempt to overthrow the government by force. (84, 85, 87) On March 6, 1966, Julio Méndez Montenegro, candidate of the Partido Revolucionario, was elected President. Méndez reacted to the growing guerrilla threat in Guatemala by increasing the counter-insurgency campaign, a policy that the United States initially encouraged. By October 1967, however, U.S. policymakers began to debate whether Méndez had gone too far. The CIA concluded that Méndez was "in the hands of extreme rightists;" the Department of State believed that "the situation is not out of hand." (98) The debate became more urgent in January 1968, when terrorists assassinated two American military officers in Guatemala City. (99) On January 31, the Interdepartmental Regional Group for Inter-American Affairs decided that Méndez should be induced to suspend the counter-insurgency campaign. Ambassador Gordon Mein opposed the decision, arguing that Méndez had no alternative but to continue the effort. (100) At a meeting of the Senior Interdepartmental Group, May 16, Mein also argued that Méndez "with all his shortcomings, was preferable to any alternative now in sight." Assistant Secretary Covey Oliver recommended that the United States pressure Méndez to institute necessary reforms, using assistance as a lever to reward progress or punish retrogression. (109) The debate ended tragically on August 28 when Guatemalan terrorists assassinated Mein himself. (114, 115) In briefing the President on Mein's death, Secretary of State Rusk concluded: "Despite the danger to some of our people, we're not basically disturbed about the possibility the Communists could take over Guatemala." (116)

The course of U.S.-Honduran relations under President Johnson was set on October 3, 1963, when Colonel Oswaldo López Arellano overthrew President Ramón Villeda Morales. The Kennedy administration initially responded by suspending diplomatic relations. On December 14, the Johnson administration agreed to recognize the new government, but only after López promised to hold elections for a constituent assembly in February 1965. Unfortunately, U.S. policymakers soon discovered an obstacle to this plan: Ricardo Zúñiga Augustinius, Colonel Lopez' right-hand man. In January 1964, the United States received reports that Zúñiga had already alienated not only the opposition Liberal Party but also key elements of the army, some of which were threatening to stage a counter-coup if he remained. In February, the Latin American Policy Committee approved a proposal to "seek ways to reduce the influence of Ricardo

Zúñiga A." (72) Zúñiga, however, proved difficult to displace. In December, when the CIA offered to "undercut" Zúñiga, the Department of State doubted that the proposed action was "worthwhile at this late date." On February 16, 1965, Zúñiga and the Nationalist Party won a majority in the constituent assembly. (74) Three years later, little had changed: Zúñiga was still in power; the United States wanted to reduce his influence. On April 2, 1968, Ambassador John Jova reported that Zúñiga had used "repressive gangster tactics" in the key municipal elections, producing a lopsided result that was an embarrassment to everyone involved, including the United States. (104) When Jova returned for consultation in June, the Interdepartmental Regional Group for Inter-American Affairs decided that the United States "should not become involved in pressing for Zuniga's ouster, but if internal pressures for his removal build up in Honduras, the USG may be able to use its influence discreetly to help nudge him out." (108) Zúñiga, meanwhile, decided to return the favor. In a meeting with Secretary of State Rusk, October 3, Zúñiga accused the Embassy of improper interference in Honduran affairs, implying that the Ambassador should be recalled. Rusk agreed to investigate the matter, but refused to recall Jova without a formal declaration that he was persona non grata. (117) In a subsequent meeting with Jova, Zúñiga denied any intention of recall and pleaded that "we work together closely for the development of Honduras and good relations between our countries." (118)

In 1967, the United States reached a turning point in its long history of involvement in Nicaraguan affairs: the election of General Anastasio Somoza Debayle. Following a policy of strict neutrality, the Johnson administration neither supported Somoza's candidacy nor blocked his succession. In early January, when a Nicaraguan lawyer informed the Embassy of plans to prevent Somoza's election, he was "given a healthy slug of our hands-off treatment." (90) The coup attempt, nevertheless, proceeded as scheduled. At a rally in Managua, January 22, Fernando Agüero Rocha, the opposition candidate, called on the National Guard to overthrow Somoza, thereby ending 30 years of authoritarian rule. The plan miscarried as the National Guard clashed with anti-Somoza demonstrators in a bloody street fight, forcing Agüero to take refuge—and hostages—in a large hotel. (91) The ensuing siege was resolved on January 23 as the Embassy mediated a settlement between Agüero and the government. (93) Two weeks later, General Somoza won the general election, the third and final Somoza to become President of Nicaragua. Shortly thereafter, Ambassador Aaron Brown recommended cooperating with the new administration by continuing to provide economic assistance, even though the press might charge that the United States was "embracing militarist dictators." (95)

Argentina

Under President Johnson, U.S.-Argentine relations got off on the wrong foot. In October 1963, President Arturo Illia annulled the contracts of U.S. oil companies operating in Argentina. The Kennedy administration initially responded by slowing economic assistance to Argentina, a tactic eventually adopted by Assistant Secretary Tom Mann as the official, yet unspoken, policy of the Johnson administration. Mann justified the "slow-down" policy by citing the sanctions of the Hickenlooper amendment, which stipulated that the President suspend assistance to any country that expropriated property of U.S. citizens or corporations without proper compensation. (121, 122, 123) In spite of efforts to negotiate a settlement, the status of the oil companies remained unresolved by June 28, 1966, when the Embassy reported that military plotters had forced Illia's resignation and were forming a junta under Lieutenant General Juan Carlos Onganía. The Department of State instructed the Embassy to do nothing that might imply recognition of the junta while maintaining "discreet informal contact" for informational purposes. (132) On June 29, the Interdepartmental Regional Group for Inter-American Affairs recommended that the United States withhold recognition until the Onganía regime stated its intention to honor international obligations, restore civil liberties, and return to constitutional government. The IRG/ARA also suggested that the Embassy suspend any bilateral programs that required official contact. The President approved the proposal. (135) Although reporting "feelings of repugnance," the Embassy recommended on June 30 that the United States recognize the new government following a "decent interval" for consultation. The Department replied that diplomatic relations would be restored if the junta issued a public statement of its commitment to democracy and civil liberties. (137) On July 7, Acting Secretary George Ball received the President's approval for standby authorization: if Onganía issued a public statement of his democratic intentions, the United States would extend recognition by July 9; otherwise, the United States would postpone recognition until several days thereafter. (139) On July 9, Rostow informed the President that the regime had refused to issue the statement, forcing the United States to delay plans to restore diplomatic relations. (140) The United States recognized the military government on July 15, 1966. (141)

Bolivia

The compilation on Bolivia concentrates on two issues: covert subsidies to the MNR party and the hunt for Ernesto "Che" Guevara. In August 1963 and January 1964, the Special Group approved two requests for financial support to the party of President Victor Paz Estenssoro. The purpose of the program was to "overcome the emergency situation which existed in Bolivia at that time and, once the situation normalized, to enable Paz to consolidate his control." (147) On November 4, 1964, Paz was ousted in a military coup d'état by his Vice President, General Rene Barrientos Ortuño. (151) Three months later, the 303 Committee authorized a financial subsidy to the MNR under Barrientos to help establish an organizational base for the Presidential election scheduled for September. (153) After the regime postponed the election in May 1965, the 303 Committee agreed in July to provide additional financial support, in spite of criticism from the Department of State. The Committee's Executive Secretary admitted that there was "no magic formula," but recommended "working along with Barrientos as the only semi-competent available." Additional funds were authorized in March 1966 for MNR propaganda and political action in support of the ruling Junta's plans to pacify the

country and hold elections to establish a civilian, constitutional government. (158, 160) Barrientos won easily when the election was held in July, and officials concerned with the covert operation concluded that the objectives of the program had been accomplished. (161)

In March 1967, Barrientos requested U.S. assistance in the search for Cuban-led guerrilla forces operating in Bolivia. The United States agreed to help train and equip a Bolivian ranger battalion for this purpose. In May, the CIA reported that the guerrillas were led by Che Guevara, and Walt Rostow, the President's Special Assistant, forwarded the information to President Johnson who maintained a strong interest in subsequent reports on Guevara and the Bolivian effort to defeat the guerrilla movement. (163, 164) The following month, the Department of Defense sent a Special Forces team to Bolivia to train a second Bolivian ranger battalion in anti-guerrilla tactics. Defense also provided ammunition, rations, and equipment, including helicopters. In addition, CIA contract personnel provided training in intelligence collection and accompanied the Bolivian ranger battalion in the field. (166) On October 8, the Second Ranger Battalion captured Guevara; the next day he was executed on direct orders from the Bolivian Army, despite the advisers' attempt to prevent the execution. These advisers provided on-scene reports of the execution to Washington. (171)

Brazil

In November 1963, U.S.-Brazilian relations were at a critical juncture. The Kennedy administration had been troubled by the leftist leanings of President João Goulart; the Johnson administration shared this concern. According to a contingency plan prepared in December 1963, if the Brazilian military overthrew Goulart, the United States would assume a "constructive friendly attitude" while pressing for a "quick return to constitutional democratic processes." The Department of State doubted, however, that the military had "any really substantial capability or will to mount a coup to overthrow Goulart." (181) The key figure on the American side—both in assessing Goulart's intentions and in developing a strategy to deal with his actions—was Ambassador Lincoln Gordon. At a meeting with Assistant Secretary Tom Mann in January 1964, Gordon called Goulart "childish and erratic" and foresaw the "possibility of a Goulart coup followed by an eventual commie takeover." (182) On February 20, Gordon warned Goulart himself of "growing Washington concern at increasing open and favored Communist influence in Brazil." Goulart remained unconcerned, leading Gordon to fear for "domestic tranquillity here in coming months." (183) At the chiefs of mission conference in mid-March, Gordon expressed hope that the "ship of state" would stay afloat until the election in October 1965, but was prepared for the worst. In this regard, he noted the importance of maintaining good relations with the Brazilian military. (185)

In an important telegram, March 27, Gordon concluded that Goulart was engaged on a campaign to seize dictatorial powers with Communist support. Gordon also reported the "most significant development" of the crisis: General Humberto Castello Branco, the Army Chief of Staff, had agreed to lead the military resistance to Goulart. In order to avoid a dictatorship on the left, Gordon urged that the United States throw its support to the right by: a) supplying the Castello Branco group with arms and petroleum (POL); and b) sending a naval task force to the South Atlantic for psychological effect or, if necessary, overt intervention. The decisive moment, he estimated, could come "tomorrow or any other day." (187) At a meeting to discuss the telegram on March 28, U.S. officials approved the POL delivery but delayed any decision on other measures pending further justification from Gordon. (188, 189, 190) On March 29, Gordon explained that the situation had become even more critical, heightening the need for arms and the naval task force. (191) To make matters worse, Army Attaché Vernon Walters reported on March 30 that the coup appeared imminent. (192) Later that evening, Secretary of State Dean Rusk agreed to send the task force, including a barge for a possible "semi-clandestine arms drop." Rusk briefed the President on developments, reading the text of a draft telegram to Gordon. Johnson indicated his approval with the comment: "don't let it [Brazil] go communist." (193) After stressing the importance of legitimacy for the coup, the telegram asked Gordon to assess whether the crisis presented "an opportunity which might not be repeated." (194)

Before Gordon could respond, the Embassy reported on the morning of March 31st that the "balloon" had gone up. (195) As the Brazilian military moved against Goulart, U.S. policymakers tried to keep pace, approving Gordon's recommendations, including the assembly of 110 tons of ammunition to be shipped by plane. (196, 198) Meanwhile, Gordon sent his assessment: "this might not be last opportunity, but well might be last good opportunity to support action by anti-Goulart group." (197) To facilitate the decision-making process, the Department established a teletype link with the Embassy in Rio de Janeiro. Later that afternoon, Under Secretary George Ball briefed the President on the latest intelligence, in particular, information received in a recent teletype conversation with Gordon. After the briefing, Johnson said: "I think we ought to take every step that we can, be prepared to do everything that we need to do, just as we were in Panama, if that is at all feasible." (199)

At a meeting the next morning (April 1), the President heard a different story: the situation was improving; key elements of the army had joined the revolt; Gordon did not recommend any immediate U.S. support. (202) By mid-afternoon, Gordon reported that the "democratic rebellion" was already 95 percent successful. Although Goulart remained at large, the only issue appeared to be when to recognize the new government. (203) In the early morning of April 2nd, the Brazilian Congress declared that Goulart had fled the country, that the presidency was vacant, and that the President of the Chamber of Deputies, Ranieri Mazzilli, was now acting President of Brazil. According to his own account, acting Secretary Ball responded quickly to this news by sending a telegram which, in effect, recognized the new government.

(204) At a noon meeting of the National Security Council, the participants were reduced to debating whether the Mazzili Presidency was legitimate since, contrary to previous reports, Goulart had yet to flee the country. (206) Later that afternoon, however, Gordon reported that "democratic forces" had eliminated the last pocket of military resistance and that Goulart had finally arrived in exile at Montevideo. Johnson, therefore, approved a congratulatory message to Mazzilli, formally acknowledging the legitimacy of the new regime. (207)

As the new regime established its authority, the United States was faced with a government that was, and would continue to become, authoritarian. On April 10, Gordon expressed "considerable dismay" at the promulgation of the so-called Institutional Act, which allowed the military to suspend the political rights of any individual for 10 years. At first, Gordon allayed his fears by reasoning that the "greatest hope for avoidance of undemocratic excesses rests in character and convictions of Castello Branco," who was elected President by Congress on April 15. (211) Gordon then turned his attention to providing financial assistance to boost the Brazilian economy: in June, the Agency for International Development approved a \$50 million loan to Brazil for balance of payments assistance; six months later, AID authorized an additional \$250 million in project and program loans. (214, 215, 216) When Castello Branco issued a second institutional act in October 1965, however, Gordon described the decision as a "severe setback" to hopes that Brazil was on the road back to "full constitutional normalcy." (220) Rusk applauded Gordon's stance, but refused to issue a public statement of regret, preferring to exercise U.S. influence in private. In this vein, Rusk asked Gordon how the United States might persuade Castello Branco to reverse this "apparent commitment to increased authoritarianism." (222) Although he undoubtedly considered this request, Gordon soon reported that the situation had markedly improved as a result of a public relations campaign to "expound positive aspects and purposes of revolution." (223) On December 11, President Johnson approved a \$150 million program loan for Brazil. (224)

By December 1968, when the military government issued a fifth institutional act, much had changed: Gordon, after briefly serving as Assistant Secretary, returned to private life in July 1967; the same month, Castello Branco was killed in an airplane crash, shortly after leaving the Presidency to General Arturo da Costa e Silva. But in many respects, the course of U.S.-Brazilian relations remained the same. When the Embassy recommended issuing a statement "deploring the setback in development of Brazilian democracy," the Department declined, citing several factors which "lead us to avoid expressing excessive unhappiness officially and publicly." (236, 237) In a memorandum to the President, January 13, Walt Rostow explained that the United States was temporarily withholding any new commitment of economic assistance "until the struggle between the moderates and radicals in the army is resolved." Meanwhile, Rusk recommended leaving "this important decision for the next Administration." (244)

Chile

Throughout the 1960's, the U.S. Government had one primary objective in Chile: to block the Presidential ambitions of Senator Salvador Allende Gossens, perennial candidate of the leftist Popular Action Front (FRAP). U.S. policymakers soon realized, however, that opposing Allende was not enough, that the United States would have to support a candidate with the political base to win the pivotal election of September 1964. For its part, the Kennedy administration preferred Senator Eduardo Frei Montalva, candidate of the Christian Democratic party; in April and August 1962, the Special Group approved a \$230,000 program of assistance to the Christian Democrats. The Johnson administration, on the other hand, initially favored Senator Julio Durán Neumann, the Democratic Front candidate, agreeing in December 1963 to provide \$20,000 for Durán's campaign. (245) Assistant Secretary Mann planned to increase financial support for Durán—and cut the subsidy to Frei—reasoning that Durán was "more pliable" on economic matters, particularly with respect to the American copper companies in Chile. (247) By mid-March, Mann was forced to reconsider when Durán temporarily dropped out of the race following a poor showing by the Front in the congressional by-election at Curicó. Although anxious to avoid "panicking as a result of Curico," the Johnson administration quickly switched allegiance to Frei. (248) On April 2, the Special Group approved a \$750,000 proposal to defeat Allende, primarily through covert assistance to the Christian Democratic Party. (250) By the end of the summer, the Special Group/303 Committee had agreed to provide an additional \$2,250,000. (258, 262, 267) Covert assistance to Frei was only part of a "Government-wide program of action" to defeat Allende, a program which also included \$55 million in program loans from the Agency for International Development; \$42 million in assistance under the Food for Peace (PL-480) program; and a propaganda campaign, pursued overtly by the United States Information Agency and covertly by the Central Intelligence Agency. (253) While employing every means at its disposal, the Johnson administration decided to discourage intervention from American business interests, fearing that such action, if publicized, would be a "kiss of death" for Frei. (257) When Frei finally defeated Allende on September 4, U.S. policymakers privately claimed credit for the outcome. The CIA, for instance, doubted that Frei's campaign "would have progressed as well as it did without this covert U.S. Government support." (269)

After the election, the Johnson administration debated whether—and by what means—to continue its anti-Allende campaign. When the CIA first recommended covertly assisting the Christian Democrats in the 1965 congressional elections, Mann objected, arguing that the proposal would be "intervention." (273) Nevertheless, in February 1965, the 303 Committee approved a proposal to provide funds to selected candidates. The following month, the primary beneficiary of the program, the Christian Democratic Party, won a decisive victory in the election. (277) Three years later, the same party and its leader, President Frei, were struggling to regain lost ground. In fact, the political situation in Chile had become so polarized that there were few moderates left for the United States to support by covert or other

means. In July 1968, the 303 Committee approved a plan to provide financial support to individual "moderate candidates" in the 1969 congressional election. Although supporting the proposal, the Department of State acknowledged "a real possibility" that the new Congress would be dominated by leftist parties, a development which might well lead to the election of a pro-Communist President in 1970, i.e. Salvador Allende. (304, 306)

Meanwhile, the United States faced another fundamental question in its Chilean policy: was it possible to be pro-Frei rather than merely anti-Allende? At first, the answer appeared to be "yes." In November 1964, the United States agreed to give Chile \$80 million of program loan assistance for 1965 (274, 275, 276) The Frei administration, however, actively opposed U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic in May 1965, leading President Johnson to suggest a "siesta" for economic assistance to Chile. (278) The following month, U.S.-Chilean relations were further strained by revelations regarding "Camelot," a U.S. Army research project of internal security in Chile that quickly made an unfavorable impression throughout Latin America. (279, 280) In November 1965, the situation reached a breaking point as Frei increased the export price of copper produced in Chile, undermining U.S. efforts to contain inflation in the wake of the Vietnam war. When the White House recommended forcing Frei to rollback the price increase, Ambassador Ralph Dungan warned that the plan would be "political suicide for the U.S. in the developing world and particularly Latin America." (282, 283) In spite of the warning, President Johnson sent Ambassador at Large Averell Harriman to negotiate a settlement with Frei in Santiago. (284, 285) After several days of tense negotiations, Frei agreed to a rollback in the U.S. market price in exchange for a \$10 million increase to the \$80 million program loan already under consideration. (286, 287, 288) The Johnson administration, however, never granted another program loan of such magnitude to Chile. (289, 295, 307)

Colombia and Ecuador

The compilations on Colombia and Ecuador present two sides of the Alliance for Progress, the carrot (Colombia) and the stick (Ecuador). After Brazil and Chile, the Johnson administration provided more economic assistance to Colombia than any other country in Latin America. This support, of course, came with strings: the Colombian Government had to enact a series of "self-help" measures, including fiscal and currency reforms. (310, 311) When President Guillermo Leon Valencia hesitated to cooperate, Assistant Secretary Tom Mann complained that he, Valencia, did not "know anything about running a country." (312) By November 1965, Valencia evidently knew enough to take appropriate action, including a currency devaluation, thereby allowing the United States to extend a \$65 million program loan. President Johnson, however, only reluctantly agreed to the loan. (317) One year later, Colombia had a new President, Carlos Lleras Restrepo, who, according to Special Assistant Walt Rostow, was "a sophisticated economist and more able political leader than his predecessor." This time, Johnson approved a \$100 million program but first asked "if we really want to blow that much on Colombia." (322) In fact, the United States "blew" another \$58 million on the program loan to Colombia in 1968. (325)

The story in Ecuador reveals the effect that personality can have on foreign policy. In April 1967, President Otto Arosemena Gómez publicly criticized the Alliance for Progress at the Punta del Este Conference, refusing to sign the joint declaration of the assembled Presidents. Although his performance was considered "off-base," the Department of State initially adopted a policy of patience for Arosemena. (330, 51) This patience was not shared by President Johnson. When several agencies recommended providing PL-480 assistance to Ecuador in September, Johnson balked, noting: "I haven't forgotten Punta del Este." (332) Assistant Secretary Covey Oliver eventually managed to overcome the President's objections by promising to tell the Ambassador that the United States was tired of "Ecuadorean griping." (333, 334) Arosemena, however, continued to complain, leading Oliver to conclude that he, Arosemena, had "flunked his course." (335) In addition to temporarily suspending loan negotiations with Ecuador, Oliver agreed that Ambassador Wymberley Coerr should defend the Alliance for Progress in a speech on October 6. (336) On October 7, the Ecuadorean Government reacted to the speech by requesting that Coerr be immediately recalled. (337) After acceding to this request, the Johnson administration decided to retaliate quietly, freezing economic assistance and refusing to replace Coerr until Arosemena left office in September 1968. (338, 339)

Mexico

No country in Latin America was closer to Lyndon Johnson's heart than Mexico: he often reminded visitors from Mexico that he not only taught in the Mexican school in Cotulla, Texas, but also spent his honeymoon in Mexico City. Johnson's interest south of the border is perhaps best revealed in his visits with Presidents Alfonso López Mateos and his successor, Gustavo Díaz Ordaz. López Mateos was the first Latin American head of state that Johnson met; Díaz Ordaz was the last. (346, 366) Not counting the Punta del Este Conference, Johnson met the President of Mexico eight times—i.e., more than all the Presidents of South America combined. At the first meeting, in February 1964, President Johnson told López Mateos that "relations between the United States and Mexico had never been better." (346) Johnson was undoubtedly right. After the recent agreement to transfer Chamizal to Mexico, the only outstanding issue in relations between the two countries was the salinity problem—and in January 1965, the United States and Mexico signed an agreement for a practical solution to the salinity of the Colorado River. (353)

Panama

Panama was the site of the Johnson administration's first major international crisis. On January 9, 1964, Panamanian students protested after their American counterparts flew the U.S. flag at a high school in the Canal Zone, a clear violation of an agreement to avoid such provocation. Before the end of the day, rioting broke out in Panama City as Zone police and U.S. military forces faced an angry Panamanian mob, encountering heavy sniper fire. (367) At a White House meeting the following morning, President Johnson decided to send a high-level delegation to Panama headed by Assistant Secretary Tom Mann to seek a temporary resolution to the crisis. In addition to the safety of Americans in the Canal Zone, Johnson and his advisers were concerned by intelligence reports of Communist involvement in the riots, possibly backed by Cuban leader Fidel Castro. (368, 369) After the meeting, Johnson telephoned the Panamanian President, Roberto Chiari, to discuss the situation. Although sympathetic to the need to avoid more violence, Chiari demanded that the United States agree to revise its claims to the Panama Canal, particularly under the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty of 1903. (370) During several meetings with Chiari in Panama City, Mann explained that the United States would not negotiate "structural revisions" to the relevant treaties under duress—and would ignore such Panamanian threats as the "suspension" of diplomatic relations. Mann offered, however, to discuss areas of mutual concern, including the Canal, once Panamanian authorities managed to quell the riots. Chiari agreed to restore order but, without a firm agreement to negotiate a new treaty, formally broke diplomatic relations after Mann's departure. (372, 375)

Meanwhile, the United States and Panama appealed to the Organization of American States to mediate a settlement through its Inter-American Peace Committee (IAPC). On January 15, the IAPC announced that an agreement had been reached to resume relations and discuss "all existing matters of any nature which may affect the relations between the United States and Panama." Soon after this announcement, Chiari claimed that the United States, by indicating a general willingness for discussion, had actually agreed to negotiate a new Canal treaty—a claim that the Johnson administration quickly and categorically denied. (379, 380) For several months, officials on both sides continued to argue whether they would negotiate specifics or discuss generalities, an argument that was closely monitored with little success by the OAS. On April 3, the OAS finally announced that the United States and Panama would: a) reestablish diplomatic relations; and b) designate Special Ambassadors to "seek the prompt elimination of the causes of conflict between the two countries without limitations or preconditions of any kind." (409, 410) After 8 months of "discussion," Johnson publicly stated on December 18 that the United States was prepared to negotiate a new Panama Canal treaty, but would also seriously consider a sea-level canal through Nicaragua, Colombia or Costa Rica as an alternative. (420, 421)

Although the United States studied the feasibility of a sea-level canal, its primary value lay in pressuring Panama to conclude a reasonable agreement on the existing canal. By June 1965, the U.S.-Panamanian negotiators concluded that the issues involved would require separate treaties for the existing canal, the proposed sea-level canal, and U.S. military base and related defense rights. The Johnson administration was also prepared to: a) recognize Panamanian sovereignty over the canal; b) establish joint management for its operation; and c) set a fixed expiration date, thereby revoking the controversial perpetuity clause of the original treaty. (423, 425, 426) On September 24, after extensive Congressional consultation, President Johnson announced that the two sides had reached a general agreement along these lines. (429) The details, however, were not resolved until June 1967 as the Panamanian Government repeatedly postponed ratification of the treaties for various political reasons. As a result, the Panama Canal treaties of 1967 were initialed but never signed. (442)

The primary cause for the delay was the Panamanian election of May 1968. The opposition candidate, Arnulfo Arias of the Panameñista Party, had been elected President twice before—and both times was ousted before finishing his term. Although undoubtedly a popular figure in Panama, Arias was not popular where it mattered most: the National Guard. In fact, the leadership of the National Guard openly supported the official candidate, David Samudio, fearing that Arias would actively interfere in their affairs. (443, 444, 445) Before the votes were officially counted, the Johnson administration sent an informal emissary to emphasize the importance of democratic elections to the Guard Commandant, Colonel Bolívar Vallarino. (447) On May 30, Arias was confirmed as the next President of Panama. (446) On October 9—8 days after Arias' inauguration—the United States received reports that the National Guard was seriously considering a coup d'état before Arias could remove several of its key leaders, including Lieutenant Colonel Omar Torrijos. The Department of State instructed the Embassy to warn the conspirators that the United States fully supported the constitutional government in Panama, and that a coup would endanger current levels of military assistance. (448) In spite of the warning, the National Guard, led by Torrijos, overthrew Arias on October 12. (449) One month later, after encouraging Arias to leave Panama, the Johnson administration recognized the military government. (453, 455)

Paraguay/Uruguay

This compilation documents U.S. relations with two governments at opposite ends of the political spectrum: a stable dictatorship (Paraguay) and an unstable democracy (Uruguay). The Johnson administration supported General Alfredo Stroessner, the long-time President of Paraguay, but did so with some reservation. In August 1964, U.S. policymakers stressed the importance of working with the Paraguayan people while avoiding undue identification with Stroessner himself. (462) Stroessner, on the other hand, was careful to support U.S. policy in the Hemisphere. In 1965, he backed U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic by sending troops; Secretary of State Rusk subsequently visited Asuncion to express President Johnson's appreciation. (465) At the Punta del Este Conference in April 1967, Stroessner

requested a more tangible form of gratitude as he presented Johnson with a "shopping list." Stroessner eventually received not only items from his list but also an invitation to visit Washington. Before the visit in March 1968, Special Assistant Walt Rostow decried the public image of Stroessner as "an old-style Latin American dictator," citing his recent record on political liberalization as well as social and economic reform. (469)

Uruguay presented the United States with a different set of problems. Although long considered the most stable democracy in Latin America, Uruguay had been ruled since 1951 by a political experiment, the so-called National Council of Government (NCG). Arguing that the NCG had failed to provide effective leadership, Assistant Secretary Mann suggested in June 1964 that the United States encourage Uruguay to return political authority to a single executive. (459, 460) Ambassador Wymberley Coerr initially advised against the proposal, contending that U.S. involvement would incur such "heavy liabilities" as to be counterproductive. (461) By December, as the political situation in Uruguay continued to deteriorate, Coerr agreed that the United States should advocate a constitutional solution, especially since the only alternative appeared to be a coup d'état. (463) In November 1966, the Uruguayan electorate voted to replace the NCG with a one-man Presidential system. This constitutional change, however, did not lead to a corresponding change in the political situation. U.S. policymakers now complained that President Oscar Gestido was too indecisive to take the steps necessary to warrant an increase of economic assistance. (467)

Peru

When President Johnson took office, U.S.-Peruvian relations were complicated by one issue: the status of the International Petroleum company, a subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey. In October 1963, President Fernando Belaúnde suspended negotiations with the company regarding the oil field at La Brea y Pariñas, suggesting some form of confiscation, or outright nationalization, of the property. The Kennedy administration initially responded by linking the level of economic assistance to progress in the IPC case, a tactic eventually adopted by Assistant Secretary Mann as the official, yet unspoken, policy of the Johnson administration. Mann justified this "policy of restraint" by citing the sanctions of the Hickenlooper amendment, which stipulated that the President suspend assistance to any country that expropriated property of U.S. citizens or corporations without proper compensation. (470, 478) As a result, aid to Peru under the Alliance for Progress lagged far behind such neighboring countries as Brazil, Chile, and Colombia, which received massive assistance to promote stable government. In February 1966, the Johnson administration sent Walt Rostow, then Counselor and Chairman of the Policy Planning Council, to Peru in an attempt to resolve the impasse. In the resultant quid pro quo, Belaúnde agreed that IPC operations would not be impaired during his administration, while Rostow agreed that the United States would resume "normal aid relations." (475, 476, 477)

Although both sides generally adhered to this agreement, the assistance program was further imperiled in the summer of 1967 as Belaúnde seriously considered a proposal to purchase supersonic jet aircraft from France. The Johnson administration demanded that Peru drop the proposal as contrary to the Alliance for Progress—and likely to encounter opposition in the U.S. Congress. If Belaúnde conceded the issue, Peru could purchase F-5 fighter aircraft from the United States at a later date; if not, Peru would have to do without the pending \$40 million program loan. (485, 490) To make matters worse, at the same time Belaúnde faced legislation in the Peruvian Congress to expropriate IPC holdings. (486, 487) On July 25, Ambassador J. Wesley Jones told Belaúnde that the program loan depended on a favorable outcome in both the IPC and aircraft cases. Rather than submit to these conditions, Belaúnde decided to forgo the loan altogether. (491) By October, reports suggested that Belaúnde was in serious political trouble, including the imminent possibility of a military takeover. The Johnson administration concluded that Belaúnde needed the program loan more than ever but that the U.S. Congress would oppose such assistance if Belaúnde insisted on acquiring supersonic aircraft. (497) For several months, the Department of State vainly tried to convince Belaúnde to cancel or otherwise circumvent the French contract. (500, 501, 502)

In August 1968, the situation initially improved as Belaúnde announced a settlement in the IPC case, thereby removing "this dangerous matter from U.S.-Peruvian relations once and for all." (504) The IPC settlement, however, soon became a destabilizing element in Peruvian internal affairs, threatening both the President and the constitutional process. (506) In light of these developments, Belaúnde urgently requested U.S. assistance on September 18, including swift approval of several project loans. (505) Before the Johnson administration could respond, Belaúnde was overthrown on October 3 by a military junta led by General Juan Velasco Alvarado. (508, 509) As the Department of State debated recognition of the new regime, Velasco issued a decree expropriating IPC property in Peru, including the oil field at La Brea y Pariñas. (513) On October 18, the Embassy warned the revolutionary government that expropriation without proper compensation would invoke the economic sanctions of the Hickenlooper amendment. (517) In spite of the complications resulting from the IPC case, the Johnson administration recognized the new government on October 25. (518, 520)

Venezuela

U.S.-Venezuelan relations during the Johnson administration revolved around two issues: Cuban subversion and Venezuelan oil. Several important instances of Cuban intervention in Venezuelan affairs are documented in the regional compilation, including the discovery in November 1963 of a Cuban arms cache and the capture of a small Cuban guerrilla force in May 1967. President Raúl Leoni also raised the Cuban issue at the Punta del Este conference in April 1967, asking President Johnson to provide military equipment for 10 new anti-guerrilla battalions. Johnson indicated a

willingness to help, and, after some bureaucratic infighting, an agreement was signed the following month. (50, 541) The American reaction was not as positive, however, in November 1968, when—less than 2 weeks before its Presidential election—Venezuela seized a Cuban fishing boat in international waters for alleged subversive activity. In lieu of any evidence of subversion, the Department of State advised Leoni to "cool it," especially since a conflict with Cuba could have "international repercussions." Although disappointed by the absence of U.S. support, the Venezuelan Government maintained its stance until after the election when it admitted that no proof of subversion had been found. (545, 546, 547)

Throughout the 1960's, Venezuela sought to improve the position of its oil in the American market, particularly in response to the restrictive measures of the Mandatory Oil Import Program (MOIP) of 1959. Negotiators attempted to resolve the issue in 1965, but in December the United States revised the MOIP without addressing Venezuelan concerns. The Leoni administration responded by instituting new regulations on residual fuel oil, a measure designed to increase revenue by raising the price of exports to the United States. (526, 527, 530) Fearing the inflationary effect of the increase on the U.S. balance of payments, the Department of State sought to reverse the decision without success. (533) President Johnson had a more personal reaction: "I want somebody that's smarter than Venezuela." (534) The Venezuelans were smart enough, however, to know when they had the Americans over a barrel. The Americans returned the favor during the Six-Day War in June 1967, when the Arab oil embargo threatened to disrupt supplies to Western Europe. Although Venezuela hoped the crisis would lead to better treatment of its exports under the MOIP, President Johnson wrote Leoni that "the crisis in the Middle East has made it even more difficult to envisage changes in our oil import program." (541, 542)

Foreign Relations, 1964-1968, Volume XXXI, South and Central America; Mexico

Released by the Office of the Historian

Preface

The *Foreign Relations of the United States* series presents the official documentary historical record of major foreign policy decisions and significant diplomatic activity of the United States Government. The Historian of the Department of State is charged with the responsibility for the preparation of the *Foreign Relations* series. The staff of the Office of the Historian, Bureau of Public Affairs, under the direction of the General Editor, plans, researches, compiles, and edits the volumes in the series. This documentary editing proceeds in full accord with the generally accepted standards of historical scholarship. Official regulations codifying specific standards for the selection and editing of documents for the series were first promulgated by Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg on March 26, 1925. These regulations, with minor modifications, guided the series through 1991.

A new statutory charter for the preparation of the series was established by Public Law 102-138, the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993, which was signed by President George Bush on October 28, 1991. Section 198 of P.L. 102-138 added a new Title IV to the Department of State's Basic Authorities Act of 1956 (22 USC 4351, et seq.).

The statute requires that the *Foreign Relations* series be a thorough, accurate, and reliable record of major United States foreign policy decisions and significant United States diplomatic activity. The volumes of the series should include all records needed to provide comprehensive documentation of major foreign policy decisions and actions of the United States Government. The statute also confirms the editing principles established by Secretary Kellogg: the *Foreign Relations* series is guided by the principles of historical objectivity and accuracy; records should not be altered or deletions made without indicating in the published text that a deletion has been made; the published record should omit no facts that were of major importance in reaching a decision; and nothing should be omitted for the purposes of concealing a defect in policy. The statute also requires that the *Foreign Relations* series be published not more than 30 years after the events recorded. The editors are convinced that this volume, which was compiled in 1994-1997, meets all regulatory, statutory, and scholarly standards of selection and editing.

Structure and Scope of the Foreign Relations Series

This volume is part of a subseries of volumes of the *Foreign Relations* series that documents the most important issues in the foreign policy of the 5 years (1964-1968) of the administration of Lyndon B. Johnson. The subseries presents in 34 volumes a documentary record of major foreign policy decisions and actions of President Johnson's administration. This volume documents U.S. policy toward South and Central America, and Mexico.

Focus of Research and Principles of Selection for Foreign Relations, 1964-1968, Volume XXXI

The editors of the volume sought to include documentation illuminating the foreign policymaking process of the U.S. Government, emphasizing in particular the highest level at which policy on a given subject was determined. The documents selected include memoranda and records of discussions that set forth policy issues and show decisions or actions taken. The focus is on the development of U.S. policy and on major aspects and repercussions of its implementation rather than on the details of policy execution.

The volume features eleven bilateral and two regional compilations, demonstrating the breadth of the U.S. Government's relations with the countries of South and Central America. Many of the bilateral compilations document the Johnson administration's responses to a series of crises: the 1964 Panama Canal flag incident; the 1964 coup d'etat in Brazil; the 1964 Presidential election in Chile; the 1966 coup in Argentina; the 1967 hunt for Ernesto "Che" Guevara in Bolivia; the 1968 coups in Peru and Panama. The bilateral compilations also show how the administration tried to address more fundamental problems: the Panama Canal treaty negotiations; the insurgencies in Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela; the authoritarian regimes in Brazil and Argentina; the continuation of covert political support in Bolivia and Chile; economic assistance to Brazil, Colombia and Chile; the protection of American business interests in Venezuela, Argentina, Peru, and Chile. The Latin America regional compilation emphasizes the broader themes of the administration's policy in the hemisphere: the Alliance for Progress; the threat of Cuban subversion; the Punta del Este conference. This regional compilation also highlights how personalities affected policymaking, especially the working relationship between President Johnson and Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Mann. The Central America regional compilation examines how the United States exercised its influence in the region, from elections in Costa Rica and Guatemala to authoritarian regimes in Honduras and Nicaragua. Given subsequent events, including the assassination of Ambassador Gordon Mein in August 1968, the compilation also emphasizes the U.S. response to the escalation of violence between the insurgents and the Government in Guatemala.

The volume's principal focus is on the President, since Lyndon Johnson made the major foreign policy decisions during his administration. The editors sought to document his role as far as possible. Although the foreign policy record of the Johnson administration is voluminous, only the most important internal discussions between Johnson and his advisers were documented. The record of Johnson's involvement as well as that of Secretary of State Rusk in the policy process often had to be pieced together from a variety of sources.

Editorial Methodology

The documents are presented chronologically according to Washington time or, in the case of conferences, in the order of individual meetings. Memoranda of conversation are placed according to the time and date of the conversation, rather than the date the memorandum was drafted.

Editorial treatment of the documents published in the *Foreign Relations* series follows Office style guidelines, supplemented by guidance from the General Editor and the chief technical editor. The source text is reproduced as exactly as possible, including marginalia or other notations, which are described in the footnotes. Texts are transcribed and printed according to accepted conventions for the publication of historical documents in the limitations of modern typography. A heading has been supplied by the editors for each document included in the volume. Spelling, capitalization, and punctuation are retained as found in the source text, except that obvious typographical errors are silently corrected. Other mistakes and omissions in the source text are corrected by bracketed insertions: a correction is set in italic type; an addition in roman type. Words or phrases underlined in the source text are printed in italics. Abbreviations and contractions are preserved as found in the source text, and a list of abbreviations is included in the front matter of each volume.

Bracketed insertions are also used to indicate omitted text that deals with an unrelated subject (in roman type) or that remains classified after declassification review (in italic type). The amount of material not declassified has been noted by indicating the number of lines or pages of source text that were omitted. Entire documents withheld for declassification purposes have been accounted for and are listed by headings, source notes, and number of pages not declassified in their chronological place. The amount of material omitted from this volume because it was unrelated to the subject of the volume, however, has not been delineated. All brackets that appear in the source text are so identified by footnotes.

The first footnote to each document indicates the document's source, original classification, distribution, and drafting information. This note also provides the background of important documents and policies and indicates whether the President or his major policy advisers read the document. Every effort has been made to determine if a document has been previously published, and, if so, this information has been included in the source footnote.

Editorial notes and additional annotation summarize pertinent material not printed in the volume, indicate the location of additional documentary sources, provide references to important related documents printed in other volumes, describe key events, and provide summaries of and citations to public statements that supplement and elucidate the printed documents. Information derived from memoirs and other first-hand accounts has been used when appropriate to supplement or explicate the official record.

Advisory Committee on Historical Diplomatic Documentation

The Advisory Committee on Historical Diplomatic Documentation, established under the Foreign Relations statute, reviews records, advises, and makes recommendations concerning the *Foreign Relations* series. The Advisory Committee monitors the overall compilation and editorial process of the series and advises on all aspects of the preparation and declassification of the series. Although the Advisory Committee does not attempt to review the contents of individual volumes in the series, it does monitor the overall process and makes recommendations on particular problems that come to its attention.

The Advisory Committee has not reviewed this volume.

Declassification Review

The Information Response Branch of the Office of Information Programs and Services, Bureau of Administration, Department of State, conducted the declassification review of the documents published in this volume. The review was conducted in accordance with the standards set forth in Executive Order 12958 on Classified National Security Information and applicable laws.

The principle guiding declassification review is to release all information, subject only to the current requirements of national security as embodied in law and regulation. Declassification decisions entailed concurrence of the appropriate geographic and functional bureaus in the Department of State, other concerned agencies of the U.S. Government, and the appropriate foreign governments regarding specific documents of those governments. The final declassification

review of this volume, which began in 1997 and was completed in 2003, resulted in the decision to withhold 12 documents in full, excise a paragraph or more in 10 documents, and make minor excisions of less than a paragraph in 52 documents.

On the basis of the research conducted in preparing this volume and as a result of the declassification review process described above, the Office of the Historian is confident that the documentation and editorial notes presented here provide a substantially accurate account of the major decisions and actions that constituted U.S. foreign policy toward South and Central America (and Mexico) during the Johnson administration.

Acknowledgements

The editors wish to acknowledge the assistance of officials at the Lyndon B. Johnson Library of the National Archives and Records Administration, especially Regina Greenwell and Charlaune Burgess, who provided indispensable assistance in the process of research. The editors also wish to acknowledge the assistance of historians at the Central Intelligence Agency, especially Gerald Haines. Dallas Lindgren of the Minnesota Historical Society provided important documentation from the papers of former Vice President Hubert Humphrey.

W. Taylor Fain, Jeffrey Soukup, David H. Herschler, and David C. Geyer collected the documentation for the volume. Under the general supervision of General Editor Edward C. Keefer, David Herschler selected and edited the documents on Panama and Bolivia; David Geyer selected and edited the documents in the remaining compilations. David Geyer also prepared the lists of names, sources, and abbreviations. Vicki E. Futscher and Rita M. Baker did the copy and technical editing and Susan C. Weetman coordinated the final declassification review. Max Franke prepared the index.

Marc J. Susser
The Historian
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Foreign Relations, 1964-1968, Volume XXXI, South and Central America; Mexico

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Sources

Sources for the Foreign Relations Series

The Foreign Relations statute requires that the published record in the *Foreign Relations* series include all records needed to provide comprehensive documentation on major U.S. foreign policy decisions and significant U.S. diplomatic activity. It further requires that government agencies, departments, and other entities of the U.S. Government engaged in foreign policy formulation, execution, or support cooperate with the Department of State Historian by providing full and complete access to records pertinent to foreign policy decisions and actions and by providing copies of selected records. Many of the sources consulted in the preparation of this volume have been declassified and are available for review at the National Archives and Records Administration.

The editors of the *Foreign Relations* series have complete access to all the retired records and papers of the Department of State: the central files of the Department; the special decentralized files ("lot files") of the Department at the bureau, office, and division levels; the files of the Department's Executive Secretariat, which contain the records of international conferences and high-level official visits, correspondence with foreign leaders by the President and Secretary of State, and memoranda of conversations between the President and Secretary of State and foreign officials; and the files of overseas diplomatic posts. All of the Department's indexed central files for these years have been permanently transferred to the National Archives and Records Administration (Archives II) at College Park, Maryland. Many of the Department's decentralized office (or lot) files covering this period, which the National Archives deems worthy of permanent retention, have been transferred or are in the process of being transferred from the Department's custody to Archives II.

The editors of the *Foreign Relations* series also have full access to the papers of President Johnson and other White House foreign policy records. Presidential papers maintained and preserved at the Presidential libraries include some of the most significant foreign affairs-related documentation from the Department of State and other Federal agencies including the National Security Council, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Department of Defense, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Department of State historians also have access to records of the Department of Defense, particularly the records of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Secretaries of Defense and their major assistants.

Sources for Foreign Relations, 1964-1968, Volume XXXI

In preparing this volume, the editors made extensive use of the most authoritative source on President Johnson's policies on South and Central America: the Presidential papers and other White House records at the Lyndon B. Johnson Library. Within the National Security File, the Agency Files, including files on the Alliance for Progress, the Country Files, the file of Memos to the President, the National Security Council Meetings Files, and the files of Walt Rostow were particularly useful. The Thomas C. Mann Papers, especially records of his telephone conversations with Johnson, were also valuable in revealing the politics behind the President's policies.

Due to the efforts of the Johnson Library, Department of State historians have full access to the audiotapes of President Johnson's telephone conversations. Johnson frequently discussed the details of his foreign policy, including South and Central America, with his key advisors: Secretary of State Rusk, Secretary of Defense McNamara, Special Assistants to the President Bundy and Rostow, Assistant Secretary of State Mann, and senior members of Congress. As such, the tape recordings provide an unparalleled perspective on decision-making often missing in more formal documentation. The editors transcribed numerous tape recordings specifically for this volume; these transcripts are printed both as documents and in the annotation.

The records of the Department of State were also indispensable in documenting President Johnson's role in South and Central America. Although the President made the important decisions, the Department of State was primarily responsible for the development, coordination, and implementation of the administration's policy in the region. The editors of this volume relied heavily upon the Department's "subject-numeric" central files, which contain the essential telegrams, memoranda, correspondence, and other records of U.S. diplomacy. The editors also mined the materials found only in the Department's "lot" files, including the office files of Assistant Secretaries Thomas Mann, Lincoln Gordon, and Covey Oliver, and other records maintained by the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs. Additional high-level documentation was found in the files of the Department's Executive Secretariat, including the records of the Senior Interdepartmental Group, the Special Group (Counter-Insurgency), the conference files, and Secretary Rusk's

memoranda of telephone conversations.

The Central Intelligence Agency provides Department of State historians access to intelligence documents from records in its custody and at the Presidential libraries. The CIA's History Staff, part of the Center for the Study of Intelligence, arranged and facilitated the research for this volume, pursuant to a May 1992 memorandum of understanding.

In compiling this volume, the editors reviewed a wide array of intelligence materials--both operational and analytical in nature--on South and Central America. In addition to the sources cited above, these materials included the files of the Directors of Central Intelligence John McCone and Richard Helms, the CIA Registry of National Intelligence Estimates and Special National Intelligence Estimates, the Directorate of Plans, and the Western Hemisphere Division. The editors found important documentation on the meetings of the Special Group/303 Committee in the files of the National Security Council and the Department of State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research. The records of the weekly meetings between representatives of the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs and the Central Intelligence Agency also yielded valuable information on the day-to-day decision-making on intelligence matters.

Almost all of this documentation has been made available for use in the *Foreign Relations* series thanks to the consent of the agencies mentioned, the assistance of their staffs, and especially the cooperation and support of the National Archives and Records Administration.

The following list identifies the particular files and collections used in the preparation of this volume. The declassification and transfer to the National Archives of these records is in process. Many of the records are already available for public review at the National Archives.

Unpublished Sources

Department of State, Washington

Central Files. See National Archives and Records Administration below.

Lot Files. For other lot files already transferred to the National Archives and Records Administration at College Park, Maryland, Record Group 59, see National Archives and Records Administration below.

INR/IL Historical Files

Files of the Office of Intelligence Coordination, containing records from the 1940s through the 1980s, maintained by the Office of Intelligence Liaison, Bureau of Intelligence and Research including: ARA/CIA Weekly Meetings File, ARA Country Files, Latin America Files, LAPC Action Minutes, Special Group Files, 303 Committee Files, 303 Committee Special Files

National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland

Record Group 59, Department of State Records

Subject-Numeric Central Files. The following are the principal files consulted for this volume.

AID(AFP): economic assistance under the Alliance for Progress

AID(AFP) 3 ECOSOC-IA: conferences of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council

AID(US) 5: U.S. economic assistance, laws and regulations

AID(US) ARG: U.S. economic assistance to Argentina

AID(US) 7 ARG: U.S. economic assistance to Argentina, program operation and termination

AID(US) 8 ARG: U.S. economic assistance to Argentina, grants and technical assistance

AID(US) 9 ARG: U.S. economic assistance to Argentina, loans

AID(US) 10 BOL: U.S. economic assistance to Bolivia, supporting assistance

AID(US) BRAZ: U.S. economic assistance to Brazil

AID(US) 9 BRAZ: U.S. economic assistance to Brazil, loans

AID(US) CHILE: U.S. economic assistance to Chile

AID(US) 8 CHILE: U.S. economic assistance to Chile, grants and technical assistance

AID(US) 9 CHILE: U.S. economic assistance to Chile, loans

AID(US) 9 COL: U.S. economic assistance to Colombia, loans

AID(US) 8-5 ECUADOR: U.S. economic assistance to Ecuador, health and sanitation

AID(US) 9 ECUADOR: U.S. economic assistance to Ecuador, loans

AID(US) 15-8 ECUADOR: U.S. economic assistance to Ecuador, PL 480 commodity sales for foreign currency

AID(US) 8-8 GUAT: U.S. economic assistance to Guatemala, community development and social welfare

AID(US) 9 PERU: U.S. economic assistance to Peru, loans

AID(VEN) VIET S: Venezuelan economic assistance to South Vietnam

DEF 9 ARG: Argentine military personnel

DEF 1-1 BRAZ: military contingency planning for Brazil

DEF 6 BRAZ: Brazilian armed forces

DEF 12-5 BRAZ-US: procurement and sale of armaments from the U.S. to Brazil

DEF 12 CUBA: Cuban armaments

DEF 6 IA: inter-American armed forces

DEF 1 LA: military policy, plans and readiness in Latin America

DEF 1-1 PAN: military contingency planning for Panama

DEF 1 PERU: military policy, plans and readiness in Peru

DEF 12-5 PERU: procurement and sale of armaments to Peru

DEF 11 US: U.S. military research and development

DEF 19-8 US-ARG: U.S. military assistance to Argentina, equipment and supplies

DEF 19-8 US-BRAZ: U.S. military assistance to Brazil, equipment and supplies

DEF 19 US-PERU: U.S. military assistance to Peru

DEF 19-8 US-PERU: U.S. military assistance to Peru, equipment and supplies

DEF 19-3 US-VEN: U.S. military assistance to Venezuela, organizations and conferences

DEF 19-4 US-VEN: U.S. military assistance to Venezuela, agreements

E 1 BRAZ: general economic policy, plans and programs in Brazil

ECIN 3 CACM: Central American Common Market, organizations and conferences

ECIN 3 LA: economic integration in Latin America, organizations and conferences

ECIN 3 LAFTA: Latin American Free Trade Agreement, organizations and conferences

FN 14 BRAZ: Brazilian servicing of public debt

FN 1 COL: general financial policy and plans in Colombia

FN 16 COL: Colombian revenue and taxation

FN 10 IMF: International Monetary Fund, foreign exchange

FN 17 PERU: money and currency in Peru

FN 10 PERU/IMF: International Monetary Fund, foreign exchange in Peru

FN 6-1 VEN: bank credit and loans in Venezuela

FN 10 VEN: foreign exchange in Venezuela

FN 11 VEN: investment guarantees in Venezuela

FSE 12 BRAZ: electric power in Brazil

FT 23 MEX: Mexican customs administration

INCO COPPER 17: copper trade

INCO COPPER CHILE: copper in Chile

LAB 11 CHILE: wages, hours and working conditions in Chile

LEG 7 KENNEDY: visits of Senator Robert F. Kennedy

OAS 5-2: Organization of American States, charter and constitution

OAS 8-3: Organization of American States, secretariat

ORG 7 ARA: visits of officials from the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs

ORG 7 S: visits of the Secretary of State

ORG 7 VAUGHN: visits of Assistant Secretary Jack H. Vaughn

PER 2-1: personnel, general reports and statistics

PER Cole, Charles W.: personnel matters relating to Ambassador Charles W. Cole

PER Mein, John Gordon: personnel matters relating to Ambassador John Gordon Mein

PET 15 ARG: industrial organization and control of petroleum in Argentina

PET 15-2 ARG: nationalization and expropriation of petroleum in Argentina

PET 6 PERU: petroleum companies in Peru

PET 15 PERU: industrial organization and control of petroleum in Peru

PET 15-2 PERU: nationalization and expropriation of petroleum in Peru

PET 15 US: industrial organization and control of petroleum in the U.S.

PET 17-2 US: imports of petroleum to the U.S.

PET 1 US-VEN: U.S.-Venezuelan general policy and plans on petroleum

PET 17 US-VEN: U.S.-Venezuelan trade of petroleum

PET 17-2 US-VEN: U.S.-Venezuelan imports of petroleum

PET 2 VEN: general reports and statistics on petroleum in Venezuela

PET 6 VEN: petroleum companies in Venezuela

PET 12 VEN: production and consumption of petroleum in Venezuela

PET 15 VEN: industrial organization and control of petroleum in Venezuela

PET 17-1 VEN: exports of petroleum from Venezuela

PET 17-2 VEN: imports of petroleum to Venezuela

POL ARG: Argentine political affairs

POL 15 ARG: Argentine Government

POL 15-1 ARG: Argentine head of state, executive branch

POL 15-5 ARG: Argentine constitution

POL 16 ARG: recognition of Argentina

POL 23-9 ARG: rebellion and coups in Argentina

POL ARG-US: U.S.-Argentine political relations

POL 1-1 ARG-US: U.S. contingency planning and coordination for Argentina

POL 1-1 BOL: contingency planning and coordination for Bolivia

POL 7 BOL: visits and meetings with Bolivian leaders

POL 8 BOL: neutralism and non-alignment of Bolivia

POL 14 BOL: Bolivian national elections

POL 15 BOL: Bolivian Government

POL 15-1 BOL: Bolivian head of state, executive branch

POL 16 BOL: recognition of Bolivia

POL 23 BOL: internal security and counter-insurgency in Bolivia

POL 23-7 BOL: infiltration, subversion, and sabotage in Bolivia

POL 23-9 BOL: rebellion and coups in Bolivia

POL 30 BOL: Bolivian defectors and expellees

POL BOL-US: U.S.-Bolivian political relations

POL 1-1 BRAZ: contingency planning and coordination for Brazil

POL 2 BRAZ: general reports and statistics on Brazil

POL 7 BRAZ: visits and meetings with Brazilian leaders

POL 15 BRAZ: Brazilian Government

POL 15-1 BRAZ: Brazilian head of state, executive branch

POL 15-3 BRAZ: Brazilian judiciary

POL 23-5 BRAZ: Brazilian laws and regulations

POL 23-9 BRAZ: rebellion and coups in Brazil

POL 29 BRAZ: political prisoners in Brazil

POL BRAZ-US: U.S.-Brazilian political relations

POL 1 BRAZ-US: general policy and background on U.S.-Brazilian political relations

POL 7 BRAZ-US: visits and meetings between U.S. and Brazilian leaders

POL 32-1 BR GU-VEN: territory and boundary disputes between Venezuela and British Guiana

POL 19 BR HOND: Colonial Government of British Honduras

POL BR HOND-GUAT: British Honduran-Guatemalan political relations

POL CHILE: Chilean political affairs

POL 1-1 CHILE: contingency planning and coordination for Chile

POL 7 CHILE: visits and meetings with Chilean leaders

POL 12 CHILE: Chilean political parties

POL 12-3 CHILE: Chilean political parties, meetings and conferences

POL 14 CHILE: Chilean national elections

POL 15-1 CHILE: Chilean head of state, executive branch

POL 18-1 CHILE: Chilean provincial, municipal and state government elections

POL 23-9 CHILE: rebellion and coups in Chile

POL CHILE-US: U.S.-Chilean political relations

POL 17 CHILE-US: Chilean diplomatic and consular representation in the U.S.

POL COL: Colombian political affairs

POL 14 COL: Colombian national elections

POL 23 COL: internal security and counter-insurgency in Colombia

POL 7 COSTA RICA: visits and meetings with Costa Rican leaders

POL 14 COSTA RICA: Costa Rican national elections

POL 15 COSTA RICA: Costa Rican Government

POL 15-1 COSTA RICA: Costa Rican head of state, executive branch

POL 23-9 COSTA RICA: rebellion and coups in Costa Rica

POL COSTA RICA-US: U.S.-Costa Rican political relations

POL CUBA: Cuban political affairs

POL 6 CUBA: Cuban people, biographic data

POL 23-7 CUBA: infiltration, subversion and sabotage in Cuba

POL 33-3 CZ: international canals, Panama Canal Zone

POL 15 ECUADOR: Ecuadorian Government

POL 15-1 ECUADOR: Ecuadorian head of state, executive branch

POL 17 ECUADOR: Ecuadorian diplomatic and consular representation

POL 23-3 ECUADOR: internal security forces and organizations in Ecuador

POL 23-9 ECUADOR: rebellion and coups in Ecuador

POL ECUADOR-US: U.S.-Ecuadorian political relations

POL 7 EL SAL: visits and meetings with Salvadoran leaders

POL GUAT: Guatemalan political affairs

POL 2 GUAT: general reports and statistics on Guatemala

POL 14 GUAT: Guatemalan national elections

POL 23 GUAT: internal security and counter-insurgency in Guatemala

POL 23-8 GUAT: demonstrations, riots and protests in Guatemala

POL 23-9 GUAT: rebellion and coups in Guatemala

POL 1 GUAT-US: general policy and background on U.S.-Guatemalan political relations

POL 32-1 GUAT-UK: territory and boundary disputes between the UK and Guatemala

POL 1-2 HOND: basic policies, guidelines and directives on Honduras

POL 12 HOND: Honduran political parties

POL 14 HOND: Honduran national elections

POL 15-1 HOND: Honduran head of state, executive branch

POL 18-1 HOND: Honduran provincial, municipal and state government elections

POL 23-9 HOND: rebellion and coups in Honduras

POL HOND-US: U.S.-Honduran political relations

POL 1 HOND-US: general policy and background on U.S.-Honduran political relations

POL 3 IA: Inter-American organizations and alignments

POL 3 IA SUMMIT: organizations and alignments relating to the inter-American summit meeting

POL 7 IA: visits and meetings with inter-American leaders

POL 7 IA SUMMIT: inter-American summit meeting

POL 1 LA-US: general policy and background on U.S.-Latin American political relations

POL 7 MEX: visits and meetings with Mexican leaders

POL 15-1 MEX: Mexican heads of state, executive branch

POL 23-8 MEX: demonstrations, riots and protests in Mexico

POL MEX-US: U.S.-Mexican political relations

POL 33-1 MEX-US: river boundaries between the U.S. and Mexico

POL 7 NIC: visits and meetings with Nicaraguan leaders

POL 14 NIC: Nicaraguan national elections

POL 15-1 NIC: Nicaraguan head of state, executive branch

POL 23-8 NIC: demonstrations, riots and protests in Nicaragua

POL 23-9 NIC: rebellion and coups in Nicaragua

POL PAN: Panamanian political affairs

POL 2 PAN: general reports and statistics on Panama

POL 14 PAN: Panamanian national elections

POL 15 PAN: Panamanian Government

POL 15-1 PAN: Panamanian heads of state, executive branch

POL 23-8 PAN: demonstrations, riots and protests in Panama

POL 33-3 PAN: international canals, Panama

POL PAN-US: U.S.-Panamanian political relations

POL 33-3 PAN-US: U.S.-Panamanian political relations, Panama Canal

POL 7 PAR: visits and meetings with Paraguayan leaders

POL PAR-US: U.S.-Paraguayan political relations

POL PERU: Peruvian political affairs

POL 2 PERU: general reports and statistics on Peru

POL 15-1 PERU: Peruvian head of state, executive branch

POL 15-2 PERU: Peruvian legislature

POL 16 PERU: recognition of Peru

POL 23 PERU: internal security and counter-insurgency in Peru

POL 23-7 PERU: infiltration, subversion and sabotage in Peru

POL 23-9 PERU: rebellion and coups in Peru

POL 23-10 PERU: travel control in Peru

POL 29 PERU: political prisoners in Peru

POL 33-4 PERU: Peruvian territorial waters

POL PERU-US: U.S.-Peruvian political relations

POL 12 UR: Uruguayan political parties

POL 15 UR: Uruguayan Government

POL 23-9 UR: rebellion and coups in Uruguay

POL 1 UR-US: general policy and background on U.S.-Uruguayan political relations

POL 1 US: U.S. general policy and background

POL 7 US: visits and meetings by U.S. leaders

POL 7 US/HARRIMAN: visits and meetings by W. Averell Harriman

POL 15-1 US/JOHNSON: visits and meetings by Lyndon B. Johnson

POL 17 US-BRAZ: U.S.-Brazilian diplomatic and consular representation

POL 17 US-ECUADOR: U.S.-Ecuadorian diplomatic and consular representation

POL 17-1 US-ECUADOR: acceptability and accreditation of U.S.-Ecuadorian diplomatic and consular representation

POL 17 US-PERU: U.S.-Peruvian diplomatic and consular representation

POL US-VEN: U.S.-Venezuelan political relations

POL VEN: Venezuelan political affairs

POL 1 VEN: general policy and background on Venezuela

POL 7 VEN: visits and meetings with Venezuelan leaders

POL 14 VEN: Venezuelan national elections

POL 15 VEN: Venezuelan Government

POL 15-1 VEN: Venezuelan head of state, executive branch

POL 23 VEN: internal security and counter-insurgency in Venezuela

POL 23-8 VEN: demonstrations, riots and protests in Venezuela

POL 23-9 VEN: rebellion and coups in Venezuela

POL 33-4 VEN: Venezuelan territorial waters

POL 33-4 VEN-CUBA: territorial waters between Cuba and Venezuela

PPB 3: press and publications, organizations and conferences

PPB 9 BRAZ: press relations and activities in Brazil

SOC 12-1 BRAZ: religion in Brazil

TEL PERU: telecommunications in Peru

Lot Files

ARA Files: Lot 68 D 385

Subject and country files of the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, 1964-1966, including minutes and policy documents on the Latin American Policy Committee, 1964.

ARA Files: Lot 70 D 295

Subject and country files of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, 1965-1967

ARA Files: Lot 68 D 93

Files of Lincoln Gordon: subject files as Ambassador to Brazil, 1961-1966; subject, country, and chronological files as Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, 1966, including staff assistants' files

ARA Files: Lot 70 D 150

Subject and country files of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, 1967

ARA Files: Lot 72 D 33

Country files and chronological files of the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, 1967-1969

ARA Files: Lot 74 D 467

Country files, chronological files, subject files, and staff assistants' files for Assistant Secretaries of State for Inter-American Affairs, Covey Oliver and Charles Meyer, 1967-1971

ARA/APU/A Files: Lot 66 D 243

Subject and chronological files of the Office of Argentine, Paraguayan, and Uruguayan Affairs on Argentina, 1964, including correspondence with the Embassy in Buenos Aires

ARA/APU/A Files: Lot 69 D 87

Subject files of the Office of Argentine, Paraguayan, and Uruguayan Affairs on Argentina, 1964-1967

ARA/APU/U Files: Lot 67 D 468

Subject files of the Office of Argentine, Paraguayan, and Uruguayan Affairs on Uruguay, 1964

ARA/BC/B Files: Lot 70 D 443

Political subject files of the Office of Bolivian-Chilean Affairs on Bolivia, 1961-1967

ARA/BR Files: Lot 66 D 418

Subject files of the Office of Brazilian Affairs, 1962-1964

ARA/CEN Files: Lot 69 D 515

General subject files of the Office of Central American Affairs, 1967

ARA/CEN/G Files: Lot 68 D 464

Subject files of the Office of Central American Affairs on Guatemala, 1966

ARA/CEN/G Files: Lot 70 D 75

Subject files of the Office of Central American Affairs on Guatemala, 1967

ARA/CEN/H Files: Lot 67 D 46

Subject and chronological files of the Office of Central American Affairs on Honduras, 1964

ARA/CEN/H Files: Lot 70 D 59

Subject files of the Office of Central American Affairs on Honduras, 1967-1968

ARA/CEN/BH Files: Lot 69 D 528

Subject files of the Office of Central American Affairs on British Honduras, 1966-1967

ARA/CV Files: Lot 67 D 622

Subject and chronological files of the Office of Colombian-Venezuelan Affairs on Colombia, 1965

ARA/CV/C Files: Lot 69 D 407

Subject and chronological files of the Office of Colombian-Venezuelan Affairs on Colombia, 1966

ARA/EP/E Files: Lot 70 D 247

Political subject files of the Office of Ecuadorian-Peruvian Affairs on Ecuador, 1967

ARA/EP/E Files: Lot 70 D 478

Political subject files of the Office of Ecuadorian-Peruvian Affairs on Ecuador, 1968

ARA/EP/P Files: Lot 67 D 566
Subject files of the Office of Ecuadorian-Peruvian Affairs on Peru, 1955-1964

ARA/EP/P Files: Lot 72 D 101
Subject files of the Office of Ecuadorian-Peruvian Affairs on Peru, 1959-1968

ARA/EP/P Files: Lot 70 D 139
Subject files of the Office of Ecuadorian-Peruvian Affairs on Peru, 1966-1967

ARA/IRG Files: Lot 70 D 122
Meeting and subject files of the Interdepartmental Regional Group for Inter-American Affairs, 1966-1968

ARA/IPA Files: Lot 69 D 537
Files of the Office of Inter-American Political Affairs on the meeting of American Presidents at Punta del Este in 1967

ARA/LA Files: Lot 66 D 65
Country files of Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Thomas Mann, 1964

ARA/MEX Files: Lot 69 D 377
Subject files of the Office of Mexican Affairs, 1966

ARA/MEX Files: Lot 71 D 188
Files of the Office of Mexican Affairs on Presidential visits and inaugurations, 1958-1967

ARA/NC Files: Lot 72 D 235
Official correspondence of the Director of the Office of North Coast Affairs, 1964-1970

ARA/NC/V Files: Lot 66 D 469
Subject files of the Office of North Coast Affairs on Venezuela, 1965

ARA/NC/V Files: Lot 69 D 19
Subject files of the Office of North Coast Affairs on Venezuela, 1968

ARA/OAS Files: Lot 70 D 272
Files of the Office of the US Representative to the Council of the Organization of American States on the meeting of American Presidents at Punta del Este in 1967

ARA/PAN Files: Lot 66 D 329
Subject files of the Office of Panamanian Affairs, 1963-1964

ARA/PAN Files: Lot 75 D 457
Files of the Office of Panamanian Affairs on the Panama Canal treaty negotiations, 1964-1973, including position papers, memoranda, and correspondence to and from the President

ARA/SR/PAN Files: Lot 73 D 216
Files of the Special Representative for Interoceanic Canal Negotiations; historical documents on the Panama Canal treaty negotiations, 1961-1968

ARA/SR/PAN Files: Lot 73 D 286
Files of the Special Representative for Interoceanic Canal Negotiations; historical documents on the Panama Canal treaty negotiations, 1964-1967

Conference Files: Lot 67 D 586
Collection of documentation on international conferences abroad attended by the President, Secretary of State, or other U.S. officials, September 1966-April 1967

Conference Files: Lot 68 D 453
Collection of documentation on international conferences abroad attended by the President, Secretary of State, or other U.S. officials, May 1967-January 1968

Conference Files: Lot 69 D 182

Collection of documentation on international conferences abroad attended by the President, Secretary of State, or other U.S. officials, 1968

E/OR/FSE Files: Lot 69 D 76

Subject, country, and chronological files of the Office of Fuels and Energy, Bureau of Economic Affairs, 1963-1965

E/OR/FSE Files: Lot 70 D 54

Subject, country, and chronological files of the Office of Fuels and Energy, Bureau of Economic Affairs, 1965-1966

Katzenbach Files: Lot 74 D 271

Files of Under Secretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, 1966-1969

Lima Embassy Files: Lot 69 F 191

Classified central subject files of the US Embassy in Lima, 1966

Lima Embassy Files: Lot 71 F 154

Subject case files of the US Embassy in Lima on the International Petroleum Company, 1962-1968

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Files of Secretary of State Dean Rusk, 1961-1969, including texts of speeches, miscellaneous correspondence files, White House correspondence, chronological files, and memoranda of telephone conversations

Senior Interdepartmental Group Files: Lot 70 D 263

Master file maintained by the Executive Secretariat on the meetings and decisions of the Senior Interdepartmental Group, 1968-1969

Special Group (CI) Files: Lot 70 D 258

Master file maintained by the Executive Secretariat on the meetings and decisions of Special Group (Counter-Insurgency), 1963-1966

U. Alexis Johnson Files: Lot 90 D 408

Chronological files of Deputy Under Secretary of State U. Alexis Johnson, including his date books, 1961-1976

Lyndon B. Johnson Library, Austin, Texas

National Security File

Agency File

Country File

Walt W. Rostow Files

Intelligence File

International Meetings and Travel File

Memos to the President

Name File

National Security Council Histories

National Security Council Meetings File

National Security Action Memorandums

Situation Room File

Special Heads of State Correspondence

Subject File

Special Files

President's Daily Diary
Recordings and Transcripts of Telephone Conversations and Meetings

Personal Papers

George Ball Papers
Tom Johnson's Notes of Meetings
John McCone Memoranda of Meetings with the President
Thomas C. Mann Papers
John Wesley Jones Papers
Dean Rusk Appointment Books

White House Central Files

Cabinet Papers
Confidential File
Subject File

Minnesota Historical Society

Hubert H. Humphrey Papers

Vice Presidential Files, Foreign Affairs General Files

Central Intelligence Agency

DCI Files: Job 80-B-01285A

Files of the Directors of Central Intelligence John McCone and Richard Helms including: McCone Memos for the Record, McCone Meetings with President Johnson, McCone Telephone Calls, Helms Chronological File as DDP and DDCI

DO Files: Job 80-01690R, Job 90-1156R

Files of the Western Hemisphere Division (Latin America Division), Directorate of Plans (Directorate of Operations)

DO Files: Job 90-347R

Files of the Directorate of Plans

DDO/IMS Files: Job 78-03041R, Job 78-5505, Job 78-06423A, Job 88-01415R

Files of the Directorate of Plans

O/DDI Registry: Job 79-R01012A

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National Security Council

Johnson Administration Intelligence Files

303 Committee Files

Minutes
Subject Files

Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Maryland

Record Group 59, Records of the Department of State

E/CBA/REP Files: FRC 72 A 6248
Current Economic Developments

Record Group 84, Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the United States

Guatemala City Embassy Files, 1966: FRC 71 A 2420
Subject files of the U.S. Embassy in Guatemala, 1966

Santiago Embassy Files, 1964: FRC 69 A 6507
Subject files of the U.S. Embassy in Chile, 1964

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OSD Files: FRC 70 A 1266
Decimal files of the Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1965

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OSD Files: FRC 73 A 1250
Decimal files of the Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1968

OASD/ISA Files: FRC 64 A 7425
Official top secret and secret files of the Secretary of Defense, Deputy Secretary of Defense, and their special assistants, 1964

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Foreign Relations, 1964-1968, Volume XXXI, South and Central America

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Abbreviations

AALAPSO, Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Organization
ABC, American Broadcasting Company
ACDA, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
AD, Acción Democrática (Democratic Action), Venezuelan political party
ADDP, Assistant Deputy Director for Plans, Central Intelligence Agency
AFL-CIO, American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations
AFP, Alliance for Progress
AID, Agency for International Development
AID/OPS, Agency for International Development, Office of Public Safety
AID/W, Agency for International Development/Washington
AIFLD, American Institute for Free Labor Development
AMFORP, American and Foreign Power Company
ANAPO, Alianza Nacional Popular (Popular National Alliance), Colombian political party
ANZUS, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States
AP, Associated Press
APRA, Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance), Peruvian political party
ARA, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State
ARA/APU, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Office of Argentine, Paraguayan, and Uruguayan Affairs
ARA/BC, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Office of Bolivian-Chilean Affairs
ARA/BR, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Office of Brazilian Affairs
ARA/CEN, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Office of Central American Affairs
ARA/CV, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Office of Colombian-Venezuelan Affairs
ARA/EP, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Office of Ecuadorian-Peruvian Affairs
ARA/LA, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State; Bureau for Latin America, Agency for International Development
ARA/MEX, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Office of Mexican Affairs
ARA/NC, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Office of North Coast Affairs
ARA/OAP, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Office of Central American and Panamanian Affairs
ARENA, Alianza Renovadora Nacional (National Renewal Alliance), Brazilian political party
ARMA, Army Attaché
AV, aviation

BA, Buenos Aires
BG, British Guiana
BOB, Bureau of the Budget

CA, Central America
CABEI, Central American Bank for Economic Integration
CACM, Central American Common Market
CAS, Controlled American Source
CASP, Country Analysis and Strategy Paper
CCC, Commodity Credit Corporation (Farm Service Agency of the Department of Agriculture)
CEA, Council of Economic Advisers
CGT, Comando Geral dos Trabalhadores (General Command of Workers), Brazil
Chicom, Chinese Communist
CI, counter insurgency
CIA, Central Intelligence Agency
CIAP, Comité Interamericano de la Alianza para el Progreso (Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress)
CINC, Commander-in-Chief
CINCLANT, Commander-in-Chief, Atlantic
CINCSO, Commander-in-Chief, Southern Command
CINCSTRIKE, Commander in Chief, Strike Force
COAS, Council of the Organization of American States
COIN, counter insurgency
COMIBOL, Corporacion Minera de Bolivia (Bolivian Mining Corporation)
COMUSARSO, Commander, US Army, Southern Command
COPEC, Compania de Petroleos de Chile (Chilean Petroleum Company)
COPEI, Comité de Organización Política Electoral Independiente (Committee of Independent Electoral Political Organization), Venezuelan political party

CORFO, Corporación de Fomento de la Producción (Production Development Corporation), Chile
COS, Chief of Station
CPSU, Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CS, Clandestine Service (Central Intelligence Agency); o-chlorobenzalmalononitrile
(a dispersal agent or tear gas)
CST, Central Standard Time
CT, Country Team
CY, calendar year

DAO, Defense Attaché Office
DATT, Defense Attaché
DCI, Director of Central Intelligence
DCM, Deputy Chief of Mission
DDCI, Deputy Director of Central Intelligence
DDP, Deputy Director for Plans, Central Intelligence Agency
Deptel, Department of State telegram
DF, Frente Democrática (Democratic Front), Chilean electoral alliance
DIA, Defense Intelligence Agency
Dissem, dissemination
DOD, Department of Defense
DOD/ISA, Department of Defense, Office of the Assistant Secretary for International
Security Affairs
DR, Dominican Republic

E, Bureau of Economic Affairs, Department of State; Escudos
EA, Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Department of State
ECOSOC, Economic and Social Council
Emb, Embassy
Embtel, Embassy telegram
Esso, Standard Oil of New Jersey
EST, Eastern Standard Time
EUR, Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs, Department of State
Exdis, Exclusive Distribution
Eximbank, Export-Import Bank of the United States

FAA, Foreign Assistance Act of 1961
FALN, Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (Armed Forces of National Liberation), Venezuela
FAO, Food and Agriculture Organization, United Nations
FAR, Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes (Rebel Armed Forces), Guatemala
FBI, Federal Bureau of Investigation
FDP, Fuerza Democrática Popular (Popular Democratic Force), Venezuelan political party
FND, Frente Nacional Democrático (Democratic National Front), Venezuelan political party
FonMin, Foreign Minister
FRAP, Frente de Acción Popular (Popular Action Front), Chilean electoral alliance
FSB, Falange Socialista Boliviana (Bolivian Socialist Falange), Bolivia
FTN, Frente Nacional (National Front), Colombian Government coalition
FY, fiscal year
FYI, for your information

G, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs
G/PM, Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Politico-Military Affairs
GATT, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GN, Guard Nacionale
GNP, Gross National Product
GOA, Government of Argentina
GOB, Government of Bolivia; Government of Brazil
GOC, Government of Chile; Government of Colombia
GOCR, Government of Costa Rica
GOE, Government of Ecuador
GOG, Government of Guatemala
GOH, Government of Honduras
GOM, Government of Mexico
GON, Government of Nicaragua
GOP, Government of Panama; Government of Peru
GOU, Government of Uruguay
GOV, Government of Venezuela

HEW, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

IA, Inter-American; Institutional Act (Acto Institucional)
IADB, Inter-American Development Bank
IA-ECOSOC, Inter-American Economic and Social Council
IAF, Inter-American Force
IAPF, Inter-American Peace Force
IBRD, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank)
IBWC, International Boundary and Water Commission
IDA, International Development Association
IDB, Inter-American Development Bank
IMF, International Monetary Fund
INDAP, Instituto de desarrollo agropecuario (Institute of Agricultural Development)
INR, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State
INR/DDC, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Deputy Director for Coordination
INR/RAR, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Office of Research and Analysis for American Republics
IPC, International Petroleum Company
IRG, Interdepartmental Regional Group
IRG/ARA, Interdepartmental Regional Group for Inter-American Affairs
ITT, International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation
JBUSMC, Joint Brazil-United States Military Commission
JCS, Joint Chiefs of Staff

L, Office of the Legal Adviser, Department of State
LA, Latin America; Bureau for Latin America, Agency for International Development
LAFTA, Latin American Free Trade Association
LAPC, Latin American Policy Committee
LASO, Latin American Solidarity Organization
LBJ, Lyndon Baines Johnson
LDC, less developed country
Limdis, Limited Distribution
LME, London Metals Exchange
LSD, landing ship, destroyer

M, Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs; Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs
MAP, Military Assistance Program
MAS, Military Assistance Sales
MDAP, Mutual Defense Assistance Program
MFM, Meeting of Foreign Ministers
MILGP, Military Group
MIR, Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), Venezuela
MLN, Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Movement), Guatemala
MMT, Military Mobile Training Team
MNR, Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (National Revolutionary Movement), Bolivia
MNRI, Movimiento Nacionista Revolucionario de Izquierda (Revolutionary Party of the National Left), Bolivia
MOD, Minister of Defense
MOIP, Mandatory Oil Import Program
MPC, Movimiento Popular Cristiano (Popular Christian Movement), Bolivia
MRL, Movimiento Revolucionario Liberal (Liberal Revolutionary Movement), Colombia

NATO, North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCG, National Council of Government, Uruguay
NCO, non-commissioned officer
NIE, National Intelligence Estimate
NIH, National Institutes of Health
Nodis, No Distribution
Noform, No Foreign Distribution
NSA, National Security Agency
NSAM, National Security Action Memorandum
NSC, National Security Council
NU, National Union Party, Panama

OAS, Organization of American States
OARS, other American Republics
ODECA, Organization of Central American States

OECD, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OEO, Office of Economic Opportunity
OEP, Office of Emergency Planning
OPR/LS, Office of Operations, Language Services Division, Department of State
OSD, Office of the Secretary of Defense

PCB, Partido Comunista Boliviano (Bolivian Communist Party)
PCB, Partido Comunista Brasileiro (Brazilian Communist Party)
PCV, Partido Comunista Venezolano (Venezuelan Communist Party)
PDC, Partido Democratico Cristiano (Christian Democratic Party), Chile
Petrobras, Petróleo Brasileiro, S.A., national petroleum company of Brazil
PGT, Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo (Guatemalan Labor Party)
PID, Partido Institucional Democrático (Democratic Institutional Party), Guatemala
PL, Public Law
PLN, Partido Liberacion Nacional (National Liberation Party), Costa Rica
PLN, Partido Liberal Nacionalista (Nationalist Liberal Party), Nicaragua
POL, petroleum, oil, lubricants
POLAD, Political Adviser
PR, Partido Radical (Radical Party), Chile
PR, Partido Revolucionario (Revolutionary Party), Guatemala
PRA, Partido Revolucionario Auténtico, (Authentic Revolutionary Party), Bolivia
PRI, Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Institutional Revolutionary Party), Mexico
PRIN, Partido Revolucionario de la Izquierda Nacional (Revolutionary Party of the Nationalist Left), Bolivia
PSD, Partido Social Democratico (Social Democratic Party), Brazil
PTB, Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro (Brazilian Labor Party)

ref, reference
reftel, reference telegram
rpt, repeat

S, Office of the Secretary of State
SEATO, Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
Secto, series indicator for telegrams from the Secretary of State while away from Washington
septel, separate telegram
SIG, Senior Interdepartmental Group
SNIE, Special National Intelligence Estimate
SPEU, Special Police Emergency Unit, Peru
S/S, Executive Secretariat, Department of State
S/SS, Executive Secretariat Staff, Department of State
SUDENE, Superintency for the Development of the Northeast, Brazil

TDY, temporary duty
TOAID, series indicator for communications to the Agency for International Development
Tosec, series indicator for telegrams to the Secretary of State while away from Washington

U, Under Secretary of State
UCRP, Unión Cívica Radical del Pueblo (Peoples' Radical Civic Union), Argentine political party
UDN, Uniao Democrática Nacional (National Democratic Union), Brazilian political party
UK, United Kingdom
UN, United Nations
UNCTAD, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNGA, United Nations General Assembly
URD, Unión Republicana Democrática (Democratic Republican Union), Venezuelan political party
USCINCSO, Commander-in-Chief, Southern Command
USA, United States Army
USAID, Agency for International Development
USG, United States Government
USIA, United States Information Agency
USIS, United States Information Service
USSR, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
USUN, United States Mission to the United Nations
UTC, Unión de Trabajadores de Colombia (Union of Colombian Workers)

WH, White House

WHD, Western Hemisphere Division, Directorate of Plans, Central Intelligence Agency

YPFB, Yacimientos petrolíferos fiscales bolivianos, (Bolivian National Oilfields)

Foreign Relations, 1964-1968, Volume XXXI, South and Central America

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Persons

Ackley, H. Gardner, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers November 1964-March 1968

Adair, Charles W., Jr., Ambassador to Panama from May 6, 1965

Adams, Robert W., Chief of the Political Section of the Embassy in Mexico until February 1964; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs to March 1965; Special Assistant to the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs March 1965-May 1966

Aguero Rocha, Fernando, leader of the Partido Conservador Tradicionalista in Nicaragua; Union Nacional de Oposición candidate for President, February 1967

Ailes, Stephen, Under Secretary of the Army until January 28, 1964; Secretary of the Army until June 30, 1965

Alemán, Roberto, Special Panamanian Representative, United States-Panama Relations (after April 1965 Inter-Oceanic Canal Negotiations), from November 1964

Alessandri Rodríguez, Jorge, President of Chile until November 4, 1964

Allen, Ward P., Director, Office of Regional Political Affairs (after June 1965 Office of Inter-American Political Affairs), Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, and Alternate U.S. Representative on the Council of the Organization of American States until October 1967

Allende Gossens, Salvador, Senator (PSP, Chile); FRAP candidate for President, September 1964; President of the Chilean Senate from December 1966

Alsogaray, Alvaro C., Argentine Ambassador at Large July-September 1966; Argentine Ambassador to the United States October 1966-September 1968

Alsogaray, Major General Julio R., (later Lieutenant General), Commander of the First Army Corps in Argentina in June 1966; Head of the Military Household; Commander-in-Chief of the Army December 1966-August 1968

Anderson, Robert B., Special U.S. Representative, U.S.-Panama Relations (after April 1965 Inter-Oceanic Canal Negotiations) from April 1964

Arenales Catalán, Emilio, Foreign Minister of Guatemala from July 1966

Arias Espinosa, Ricardo M., Panamanian Ambassador to the United States October 1964-January 1968

Arias Madrid, Arnulfo, former President of Panama; leader of the Panamenista Party; Panamenista candidate for President, May 1964; National Union candidate for President, May 1968; President of Panama October 1-October 12, 1968

Arosemena Gómez, Otto, President of Ecuador November 16, 1966-September 1, 1968

Balaguer, Joaquín Videla, President of the Dominican Republic from July 1, 1966

Ball, George W., Under Secretary of State until September 30, 1966; U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations June 26-September 25, 1968

Barall, Milton, special assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Deputy U.S. Representative to the Inter-American Economic and Social Committee, and Alternate U.S. Representative on the Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress, May 1964-July 1966

Barneby, Malcolm R., Deputy Director, Office of Ecuadorian-Peruvian Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, September 1964-October 1965; Director until June 1967

Barnes, Donald F., interpreter in the Language Services Division, Office of Operations, Department of State

Barr, Joseph, Under Secretary of the Treasury April 29, 1965-December 22, 1968; thereafter Secretary of the Treasury

Barrientos Ortuno, General René, Vice President of Bolivia August-November 1964; leader of the military junta in Bolivia November 5, 1964-May 26, 1965; Co-President of Bolivia May 26, 1965-January 5, 1966; President of Bolivia from August 6, 1966

Barrios, Gonzalo, Venezuelan Minister of Interior March 1964-November 1966; thereafter Secretary General of Acción Democrática; AD candidate for President December 1968

Belaunde Terry, Fernando, President of Peru until October 3, 1968

Belcher, Taylor G., Director, Office of West Coast Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, until February 1964

Bell, David E., Administrator of the Agency for International Development until July 31, 1966

Bell, John O., Ambassador to Guatemala until August 26, 1965

Bennett, W. Tapley, Jr., Ambassador to the Dominican Republic until April 13, 1966

Berle, Adolf A., former Assistant Secretary of State and Ambassador to Brazil; emeritus professor of law, Columbia University; chairman of the board, Twentieth Century Fund

Berlin, Lawrence H., Deputy Director, Office of Ecuadorian-Peruvian Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, from March 1967

Bernbaum, Maurice M., Ambassador to Ecuador until January 14, 1965; Ambassador to Venezuela from February 4, 1965

Betancourt, Rómulo, President of Venezuela until March 11, 1964

Bloomfield, Richard J., Director, Office of Ecuadorian-Peruvian Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, October 1967-July 1968

Bohlen, Charles E., Deputy Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs from February 11, 1968

Bosch, Juan, former President of the Dominican Republic

Boster, Davis E., special assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs January 1964-April 1965

Bowdler, William G., Deputy Coordinator of Cuban Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, until April 1965; member of the National Security Council staff until September 1968; Ambassador to El Salvador from September 26, 1968

Boyd, Aquilino Edgardo, Panamanian Permanent Representative to the United Nations

Breen, John R., Deputy Director, Office of Development Planning and Programs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, January 1967-July 1968; thereafter Director, Office of Central American Affairs

Brewin, Roger C., Officer-in-Charge of Bolivian Political Affairs, Office of Bolivian-Chilean Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, June 1964-August 1966

Brezhnev, Leonid I., General Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union from October 1964

Briz(z)ola, Leonel, former Governor of Rio Grande do Sul; Congressman (PTB-

Guanabara) until April 1964; brother-in-law of President Goulart

Broderick, William D., Deputy Director, Office of Bolivian-Chilean Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, July 1966-August 1968

Broe, William V., Chief of the Western Hemisphere Division, Directorate of Plans, Central Intelligence Agency, from June 1965

Bronheim, David, Deputy U.S. Coordinator of the Alliance for Progress July 1965-July 1967

Brown, Aaron S., Ambassador to Nicaragua until May 3, 1967

Bulhoes, Otávio Gouvêia de, Brazilian Minister of Finance April 1964-March 1967

Bundy, McGeorge, Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs until February 28, 1966

Bunker, Ellsworth, U.S. Representative on the Council of the Organization for American States January 29, 1964-November 7, 1966; Ambassador at Large November 8, 1966-April 11, 1967

Burnham, Linden Forbes Sampson, Prime Minister of British Guiana December 1964-May 1966; thereafter Prime Minister of Guyana

Burrows, Charles R., Ambassador to Honduras until June 28, 1965; Director, Office of Central American Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, November 1965-July 1968

Burton, Ralph J., Director, Office of Brazilian Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, until March 1965

Busby, Horace, Jr., Special Assistant to the President until October 1965

Caldera Rodriguez, Rafael, founder and leader of the Comité de Organización Política Electoral Independiente, Venezuela; COPEI candidate for President December 1968; thereafter President-elect of Venezuela

Califano, Joseph A., Jr., General Counsel, Department of the Army, until March 1964; Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense until July 1965; thereafter Special Assistant to the President

Calle Restrepo, Diego, Colombian Finance Minister, February 1964-March 1965

Campos, Roberto de Oliveira, former Brazilian Ambassador to the United States; Brazilian Minister of Planning and Economic Cooperation April 1964-March 1967

Carlson, Reynold E., Ambassador to Colombia from September 16, 1966

Carrillo Flores, Antonio, Mexican Ambassador to the United States until November 1964; Foreign Minister of Mexico from December 1, 1964

Carter, Albert E., Deputy Director of Coordination for Intelligence and Research, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State, until December 1965

Carter, Lieutenant General Marshall S., USA, Deputy Director of Central Intelligence until April 28, 1965; thereafter Director of the National Security Agency

Castello Branco, General Humberto de Alencar, Chief of Staff of the Army in Brazil until April 1964; President of Brazil April 15, 1964-March 15, 1967

Castro, Raul H., Ambassador to El Salvador October 3, 1964-July 17, 1968; Ambassador to Bolivia from August 1, 1968

Castro Ruz, Fidel, Premier of Cuba

Cater, S. Douglass Jr., Special Assistant to the President July 1965-October 1968

Chamorro Cardenal, Pedro Joaquín, owner and publisher of La Prensa in Nicaragua; coordinator of the Union Nacional de Oposición during the 1967 Presidential campaign

Chase, Gordon, member of the National Security Council staff until January 1966

Chayes, Abram J., Legal Adviser, Department of State, until June 27, 1964

Chiari Junior, Roberto Francisco, President of Panama until October 1, 1964

Christian, George E., Special Assistant and Press Secretary to the President from February 1967

Clark, Edward W., Director, Office of Panamanian Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, August 1964-June 1968

Clifford, Clark M., Secretary of Defense from March 1, 1968

Cline, Ray S., Deputy Director for Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, until January 1966; thereafter Special Assistant to the Director for Central Intelligence

Coerr, Wymberley deR., Ambassador to Uruguay until January 22, 1965; Ambassador to Ecuador February 4, 1965-October 7, 1967

Cole, Charles W., Ambassador to Chile until September 27, 1964

Collins, V. Lansing, Director, Office of Central American and Panamanian Affairs (after March 12, 1964, Office of Panamanian Affairs), Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, until August 1964

Costa e Silva, General Arturo da, Chief of the Brazilian Army Department of Production and Works until April 1964; Brazilian Minister of War April 1964-June 1966; ARENA candidate for President, October 1966; President of Brazil from March 15, 1967

Costa Méndez, Nicanor, Foreign Minister of Argentina from July 5, 1966

Cottrell, Sterling J., Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs until February 1964; Special Adviser to the Special U.S. Representative, U.S.-Panama Relations, May 1964-April 1965; Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy in Venezuela, until April 1967

Crimmins, John H., Coordinator of Cuban Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, until January 1966; Ambassador to the Dominican Republic from June 27, 1966

Crowley, John J., Jr., Officer-in-Charge of Venezuelan Affairs, Office of Colombian-Venezuelan Affairs (after May 1966 Officer-in-Charge of Venezuelan Political Affairs, Office of North Coast Affairs), Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, August 1964-August 1966; thereafter Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy in Ecuador

De Gaulle, Charles, President of France

De la Rosa, Diógenes, Special Panamanian Representative, U.S.-Panama Relations (after April 1965 Inter-Oceanic Canal Negotiations) from November 1964

De Lavalle, Juan Bautista, Peruvian Representative to the Council of the Organization of American States until February 1968; also Chairman of the General Committee on the Council of the Organization of American States until November 1964

Delvalle, Max, First Vice President of Panama October 1964-September 1968; rival President of Panama March 25-October 1, 1968

Denney, George C., Jr., Deputy Director of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State

Dentzer, William T., Jr., Director, Office of Bolivian-Chilean Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, March 1964-August 1965; Director, AID Mission in Peru, until September 1968

Díaz Ordaz, Gustavo, PRI candidate for President, July 1964; President of Mexico from December 1, 1964

Dillon, C. Douglas, Secretary of the Treasury until March 31, 1965

Dirksen, Everett M., Senator (Republican-Illinois); Senate Minority Leader

Dreyfuss, John T., Officer-in-Charge of Argentine Political and Development Affairs, Office of Argentine, Paraguayan, and Uruguayan Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, December 1965-August 1968

Duke, Angier Biddle, Chief of Protocol, Department of State, until January 20, 1965

Dungan, Ralph A., Special Assistant to the President until September 1964; Ambassador to Chile November 24, 1964-August 2, 1967

Durán Neumann, Julio, Senator (PR, Chile); DF candidate for President, September 1963-March 16, 1964; PR candidate for President from April 5, 1964

Eaton, Samuel D., Deputy Director, Office of Colombian-Venezuelan Affairs (after May 1966 Office of North Coast Affairs), Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, April 1965-July 1966; Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs July 1966-August 1967

Echandi Jiménez, Mario, former President of Costa Rica

Eisenhower, Dwight D., former President of the United States

Eisenhower, Milton S., President of Johns Hopkins University until June 1967; Special Adviser on Latin American Affairs from December 1967

Eleta Almaran, Fernando, Foreign Minister of Panama October 1964-September 1968

Ensor, Andrew F., Chief, Fuels and Energy Division, Office of International Resources, Bureau of Economic Affairs, Department of State, later Director, Office of Fuels and Energy, to 1966

Evans, Allan, Deputy Director for Research, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State

Figueres Ferrer, José, former President of Costa Rica

FitzGerald, Desmond, Deputy Chief of the Western Hemisphere Division for Cuban Affairs, Directorate of Plans, Central Intelligence Agency, until March 1964; Chief of the Western Hemisphere Division March 1964-June 1965; Deputy Director for Plans until July 1967

Fitzgerald, John F., Deputy Coordinator of Cuban Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, May 1966-July 1967; thereafter Coordinator

Ford, Gerald R., Representative (Republican-Michigan); House Minority Leader from January 1965

Foster, William C., Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

Fowler, Henry H., Secretary of the Treasury April 1, 1965-December 23, 1968

Fowler, James R., Deputy U.S. Coordinator of the Alliance for Progress from August 1967

Frank, Richard A., Assistant Legal Adviser for Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, November 1966-September

1968

Freeman, Fulton, Ambassador to Colombia until February 1964; Ambassador to Mexico from March 4, 1964

Freeman, Orville L., Secretary of Agriculture

Frei Montalva, Eduardo, Senator (PDC, Chile); PDC candidate for President, September 1964; President of Chile from November 4, 1964

Friedman, Alvin, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (Far East and Latin America) 1964-1966

Fulbright, J. William, Senator (Democrat-Arkansas); Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Gardner, James R., Deputy Director of Coordination for Intelligence and Research, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State, from December 1965

Gaud, William S., Deputy Administrator of the Agency for International Development February 1964-August 2, 1966; thereafter Administrator

Gestido, Oscar, President of Uruguay March 1-December 6, 1967

Glaessner, Philip J. W., Deputy Assistant Administrator for Capital Development, Bureau for Latin America, Agency for International Development; from March 12, 1964, also Director, Office of Capital Development, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State

Goodpaster, Lieutenant General Andrew J., USA, Assistant to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff until July 1966; Director, Joint Staff, August 1966-March 1967

Gordon, A. Lincoln, Ambassador to Brazil until February 25, 1966; Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs and U.S. Coordinator of the Alliance for Progress March 9, 1966-June 30, 1967

Goulart, Joao Belchior Marques, President of Brazil until April 2, 1964

Greenfield, James L., Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs until September 1964

Gruening, Ernest, Senator (Democrat-Alaska)

Guerrero Gutiérrez, Lorenzo, President of Nicaragua August 3, 1966-May 1, 1967

Guevara de la Serna, Major Ernesto "Che", Cuban Minister of Industry until 1965

Harriman, W. Averell, former Governor of New York; Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs until March 17, 1965; thereafter Ambassador at Large

Hartman, Arthur A., special assistant to the Deputy Secretary of State and staff director, Senior Interdepartmental Group, from August 1967

Haya de la Torre, Raúl Víctor, founder and leader of the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA) and the Partido Aprista Peruano

Helms, Richard, M., Deputy Director for Plans, Central Intelligence Agency, until April 28, 1965; Deputy Director of Central Intelligence April 28, 1965-June 30, 1966; thereafter Director of Central Intelligence

Henderson, Douglas, Ambassador to Bolivia until August 7, 1968

Herbert, Ray, Deputy Chief of the Western Hemisphere Division, Directorate of Plans, Central Intelligence Agency until June 1965

Herrera Lane, Felipe, President of the Inter-American Development Bank

Hickenlooper, Bourke B., Senator (Republican-Iowa)

Hill, John Calvin, Jr., Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy in Venezuela, until April 1965; thereafter Director, Office of Colombian-Venezuelan Affairs (after May 1966 Office of North Coast Affairs), Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State

Hornig, Donald F., Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology

Hoyt, Henry A., Director, Office of Argentine, Paraguayan, and Uruguayan Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, January 1964-May 1965; Ambassador to Uruguay May 6, 1965-December 16, 1967

Hughes, Thomas L., Director of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State

Humphrey, Hubert H., Senator (Democrat-Minnesota) and Senate Majority Whip until December 29, 1964; Vice President of the United States from January 20, 1965; Democratic candidate for President, November 1968

Hurwitch, Robert A., First Secretary of the Embassy in Chile July-September 1964

Illia, Arturo Umberto, President of Argentina until June 28, 1966

Illueca, Jorge E., Special Panamanian Representative, U.S.-Panama Relations (Panama Canal Treaty negotiations) April-November 1964

Iribarren Borges, Ignacio, Foreign Minister of Venezuela from March 11, 1964

Irwin, John N., II, Special U.S. Representative for Inter-Oceanic Canal Negotiations April 1965-July 1967

Jagan, Cheddi B., Prime Minister of British Guiana until December 1964

Jenkins, Walter W., Special Assistant to the President until October 1964

Jessup, Peter, member of the National Security Council staff; executive secretary of the 5412 Special Group (after June 2, 1964, the 303 Committee)

Johnson, General Harold K., USA, Chief of Staff, U.S. Army

Johnson, Lyndon B., President of the United States

Johnson, U. Alexis, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs until July 12, 1964 and November 1, 1965-October 9, 1966

Johnson, W. Thomas, Jr., Assistant Press Secretary to the President September 1966-September 1968; thereafter Deputy Press Secretary to the President

Johnston, James D., staff assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs January 1964-April 1965; staff assistant to the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs until September 1966

Johnston, James R., Officer-in-Charge of Nicaraguan Political and Economic Affairs, Office of Central American Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, June 1966-May 1968; also Officer-in-Charge of British Honduran Political and Economic Affairs February-December 1966

Jones, J. Wesley, Ambassador to Peru

Jones, James R., Assistant to the President February 1965-January 1968; thereafter Deputy Special Assistant to the President

Jova, Joseph John, Deputy Chief of Mission in Chile until May 1965; Ambassador to Honduras from June 7, 1965

Karamessines, Thomas, Assistant Deputy Director for Plans, Central Intelligence Agency, until July 1967; thereafter Deputy Director for Plans

Katzenbach, Nicholas deB., Attorney General September 4, 1964-September 30, 1966; thereafter Under Secretary of State

Kennedy, Robert F., Attorney General until September 3, 1964; Senator (Democrat-New York) January 1965-June 6, 1968

Khrushchev, Nikita S., Soviet Premier until October 15, 1964

Kilday, Lowell C., Officer-in-Charge of Ecuadorian Political Affairs, Office of Ecuadorian- Peruvian Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, August 1967-November 1968

Killoran, Thomas F., U.S. Consul General in San Pedro Sula September 1964-July 1966; Officer-in-Charge of Guatemalan Political and Economic Affairs, Office of Central American Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, August 1966-February 1968; thereafter Deputy Director, Office of Central American Affairs

King, Colonel J. C., USA (retired), Chief of the Western Hemisphere Division, Directorate of Plans, Central Intelligence Agency, until March 1964

Kitchen, Jeffrey C., Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Politico-Military Affairs until July 1967

Kohler, Foy D., Deputy Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs November 29, 1966-December 31, 1967

Komer, Robert W., member of the National Security Council staff until October 1965; Deputy Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs October 1965-March 1966; acting Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, March 1966; thereafter Special Assistant to the President until January 1967

Koren, Henry L. T., Deputy Director for Coordination, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State, September 1965-June 1966

Korry, Edward M., Ambassador to Chile from August 23, 1967

Kosygin, Alexei N., Soviet Premier from October 15, 1964

Krebs, Max V., Deputy Chief of Mission in Guatemala from August 1967

Krieg, William L., Director, Office of Argentine, Paraguayan, and Uruguayan Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, from May 1965

Krueel, General Amaury, Commander of the Second Army in Brazil until August 1966

Kubisch, Jack B., Chief of the Economic Section, Embassy in Brazil, and Director of the AID Mission until January 1965; Director, Office of Brazilian Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, from March 1965

Kubitschek, Juscelino, former President of Brazil

Lacerda, Carlos, Governor of Guanabara, Brazil, until December 1965

Lang, William E., Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (Africa and Foreign Military Rights) 1965-1966, then (Africa, Latin America, and Foreign Military Rights)

Leandro Mora, Reinaldo, Venezuelan Minister of Interior from November 1966

Lechín Oquendo, Juan, General Secretary of the Mine Workers' Federation in Bolivia until May 1965; also Vice

President of Bolivia until May 1964

Leddy, John M., Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs from June 16, 1965

Leitao da Cunha, Vasco, Foreign Minister of Brazil April 1964-December 1965; Brazilian Ambassador to the United States January 1966-June 1968

Leonhardy, Terrence G., Director, Office of Mexican Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, September 1964-December 1967

Leoni Otero, Rael, President of Venezuela from March 11, 1964

Lewis, Samuel W., member of the National Security Council staff from September 1968

Linowitz, Sol M., U.S. Representative on the Council of the Organization of American States, the Inter-American Economic and Social Committee, and the Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress from October 13, 1966

Little, Edward S., special assistant to the Secretary of State until May 1965

Lleras Restrepo, Carlos, National Front (Liberal Party) candidate for President, May 1966; President of Colombia from August 7, 1966

López Arellano, Colonel Oswaldo, later General, leader of the military junta in Honduras until June 6, 1965; thereafter President of Honduras

López Mateos, Alfonso, President of Mexico until December 1, 1964

Lord, Peter P., Officer-in-Charge of Colombian Affairs, Office of Colombian-Venezuelan Affairs (after May 1966 Officer-in-Charge of Colombian Political Affairs, Office of North Coast Affairs), Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, July 1964-August 1966; Officer-in-Charge of Venezuelan Political Affairs until June 1967

Lowenfeld, Andreas F., Assistant Legal Adviser for Economic Affairs, Department of State, until August 1965; thereafter Deputy Legal Adviser

Magalhaes Kelly, Juracy Montenegro, Brazilian Ambassador to the United States July 1964-September 1965; Brazilian Minister of Justice and the Interior October 7, 1965-January 14, 1966; Foreign Minister of Brazil until March 15, 1967

Magalhaes Pinto, José de, President of the Uniao Democrática Nacional; Governor of Minas Gerais, Brazil, until December 1965; Congressman (ARENA-Minas Gerais) from November 1966; Foreign Minister of Brazil from March 15, 1967

Manatos, Mike N., Administrative Assistant to President Johnson

Mann, Thomas C., Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs and U.S. Coordinator of the Alliance for Progress January 3, 1964-March 17, 1965; Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs until May 31, 1966; President of the Automobile Manufacturers Association from 1967

Manning, Robert J., Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs to July 31, 1964

Mansfield, Michael J., Senator (Democrat-Montana); Senate Majority Leader

Margolies, Daniel F., Director, Office of East Coast Affairs (after March 12, 1964, Office of Colombian-Venezuelan Affairs), Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, until May 1965

Marks, Leonard H., Director of the United States Information Agency September 1, 1965- December 6, 1968

Martin, Edwin M., Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs until January 2, 1964; Ambassador to Argentina January 29, 1964-January 5, 1968

Mayobre, José Antonio, Venezuelan Minister of Mines and Hydrocarbons from January 1967

Mazzilli, Pascoal Ranieri, President of the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies until February 1965; Acting President of Brazil April 2-15, 1964

McCone, John A., Director of Central Intelligence until April 28, 1965

McNamara, Robert S., Secretary of Defense until February 29, 1968

McNaughton, John T., Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs July 1, 1964-July 19, 1967

McPherson, Harry C., Jr., Deputy Under Secretary of the Army for International Affairs until August 1964; also Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Army for Civilian Functions March-August 1964; Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs August 23, 1964-August 14, 1965; thereafter Special Counsel to the President

Meeker, Leonard C., Legal Adviser of the Department of State from May 18, 1964

Mein, John Gordon, Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy in Brazil, until August 1965; Ambassador to Guatemala September 1, 1965-August 28, 1968

Méndez Montenegro, Julio César, PR candidate for President, March 1966; President of Guatemala from July 1, 1966

Mercado Jarrin, Brigadier General Edgardo, Foreign Minister of Peru from October 1968

Meyer, Cord, Jr., Chief, Covert Action Staff, Directorate of Plans, Central Intelligence Agency, until July 1967; thereafter Assistant Deputy Director for Plans

Molina Silva, Sergio, Chilean Minister of Finance from November 1964

Mora Otera, José A., Secretary General of the Organization of American States until May 1968

Moreno, Miguel J., Jr., Panamanian Representative to the Council of the Organization of American States until September 1964; also Panamanian Ambassador to the United States April-September 1964

Morgan, Thomas E., Representative (Democrat-Pennsylvania); Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee

Morris, Patrick F., Director, Office of Bolivian-Chilean Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, November 1965-September 1968

Morse, Wayne L., Senator (Democrat-Oregon); Chairman of the Subcommittee on American Republics Affairs, Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Moscoso, Teodoro, U.S. Representative to the Inter-American Economic and Social Committee and the Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress, and Special Adviser to the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, January-May 1964

Moyers, Bill D., Special Assistant and Press Secretary (from July 1965) to the President to February 1967

Nitze, Paul H., Deputy Secretary of Defense from July 1, 1967

Nixon, Richard M., former Vice President of the United States; President-elect of the United States from November 5, 1968

O'Brien, Lawrence F., Special Assistant to the President until November 1965

Oduber Quirós, Daniel, Foreign Minister of Costa Rica until January 1965; PLN candidate for President, February 1966

Oliver, Covey T., Ambassador to Colombia May 1, 1964-August 29, 1966; Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-

American Affairs and U.S. Coordinator of the Alliance for Progress July 1, 1967-December 31, 1968

O'Meara, General Andrew P., USA, Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Southern Command, until February 22, 1965

Onganía, Lieutenant General Juan Carlos, Commander-in-Chief of the Army in Argentina until November 1965; President of Argentina from June 28, 1966

Orlich Bolmarcich, Francisco José, President of Costa Rica until May 8, 1966

Ovando Candia, General Alfredo, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces in Bolivia; Co-President of Bolivia May 26, 1965-January 5, 1966; President of Bolivia January 5-August 6, 1966

Pacheco Areco, Jorge, President of Uruguay from December 6, 1967

Palmer, Donald K., Director, Office of Regional Economic Policy, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, January 1964-August 1965; thereafter Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs (Economic Policy)

Pastor de la Torre, Celso, Peruvian Ambassador to the United States until October 1968

Paz Estenssoro, Victor, President of Bolivia until November 4, 1964

Peralta Azurdia, Colonel Enrique, President of Guatemala until July 1, 1966

Pérez Alfonso, Juan Pablo, former Venezuelan Minister of Mines and Hydrocarbons

Pérez Guerrero, Manuel, Venezuelan Minister of Mines and Hydrocarbons until January 1967

Perón, Juan Domingo, former President of Argentina

Peterson, Lawrence L., Deputy Director, Office of North Coast Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, from August 1968

Pinilla Fábrega, Colonel José María, President of Panama from October 13, 1968

Pistarini, Major General Pascual Angel, later Lieutenant General, Commander-in-Chief of the Army in Argentina November 1965-December 1966; also Argentine Minister of Defense July-September 1966

Poats, Rutherford M., Deputy Administrator of the Agency for International Development from May 1967

Porter, General Robert W., Jr., USA, Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Southern Command, from February 22, 1965

Pryce, William T., staff assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs January 1964-April 1965

Raborn, Vice Admiral William F., Jr., USN (retired), Director of Central Intelligence April 28, 1965-June 30, 1966

Read, Benjamin H., Special Assistant to the Secretary of State and Executive Secretary, Department of State

Reedy, George E., Special Assistant and Press Secretary (from March 1964) to the President until July 1965

Resor, Stanley R., Under Secretary of the Army April 5-July 7, 1965; thereafter Secretary of the Army

Ribeiro, General Jair Dantas, Brazilian Minister of War until April 1, 1964

Richardson, Ralph W., Officer-in-Charge of Chilean Affairs, Office of West Coast Affairs (after March 12, 1964 Office of Bolivian-Chilean Affairs), Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, until September 1964

Rielly, John, Assistant to the Vice President from January 1965

Robles Méndez, Marco Aurelio, National Liberal Party candidate for President, May 1964; President of Panama October 1, 1964-October 1, 1968

Rockefeller, David, President and Chairman of the Executive Committee of Chase Manhattan Bank; Director of the Council on Foreign Relations; head of the Business Group for Latin America (from 1965 the Council for Latin America)

Rogers, William D., Deputy U.S. Coordinator of the Alliance for Progress until June 1965

Rostow, Eugene V., Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs from October 14, 1966

Rostow, Walt W., Counselor and Chairman, Policy Planning Council, Department of State, until March 31, 1966; also U.S. Representative to the Inter-American Economic and Social Committee and the Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress May 1964-March 1966; Special Assistant to the President from April 1, 1966

Rowan, Carl T., Director of the United States Information Agency February 27, 1964-July 10, 1965

Rowell, Edward M., Officer-in-Charge of Honduran Affairs, Office of Central American and Panamanian Affairs (after March 12, 1964, Office of Central American Affairs), Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, until April 1964

Rusk, Dean, Secretary of State

Russell, Richard B., Senator (Democrat-Georgia); Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee

Saccio, Leonard J., Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy in Argentina, from July 1965

Salans, Carl F., Assistant Legal Adviser for Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, June 1965-March 1967; thereafter Deputy Legal Adviser

Salinger, Pierre E. G., Special Assistant and Press Secretary to the President until March 1964

Samudio Avila, David, Panamanian Minister of Finance October 1964-December 1967; Liberal Party candidate for President, May 1968

Sanchez Gavito, Vicente, Mexican Representative to the Council of the Organization of American States until February 1965

Sanders, Irving L., Officer-in-Charge of Uruguayan Political Affairs, Office of Argentine, Paraguayan and Uruguayan Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, from August 1967

Sanders, Terry B., Jr., Director, Office of Panamanian Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, from September 1968

Sanjines-Goytia, Colonel Julio, Bolivian Ambassador to the United States from May 1965

Sanz de Santamaría, Carlos, Chairman of the Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress

Sapena Pastor, Raël, Foreign Minister of Paraguay

Sause, Oliver L., Jr., Director, Office of Central American Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, March 1964-November 1965

Sayre, Robert M., Director, Office of Mexican Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, until April 1964; member of the National Security Council staff until April 1965; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs April 1965-July 1968; Ambassador to Uruguay from July 24, 1968

Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr., Special Assistant to the President until March 1, 1964

Schultze, Charles L., Director of the Bureau of the Budget June 1, 1965-January 29, 1968

Scott, Joseph W., Deputy Director for Coordination, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State, until July 1964

Seidenman, Neil A., interpreter in the Language Services Division, Office of Operations, Department of State

Sessions, Edson O., Ambassador to Ecuador from August 1, 1968

Sevilla Sacasa, Guillermo, Nicaraguan Ambassador to the United States; also Nicaraguan Representative to the Council of the Organization of American States; Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, Washington

Shankle, A. Perry, Officer-in-Charge of Chilean Political Affairs, Office of Bolivian-Chilean Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, from January 1967

Sharp, Frederick D. III, Deputy Director, Office of Inter-American Security Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, August 1966-June 1968; thereafter Director

Shumate, John P., Jr., Officer-in-Charge of Peruvian Political Affairs, Office of Ecuadorian- Peruvian Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, from July 1967

Siracusa, Ernest V., Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy in Peru

Sloan, Frank K., Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (Regional Affairs) until 1965

Smith, Bromley K., Executive Secretary of the National Security Council staff

Smith, James F., Officer-in-Charge of Ecuadorian Development Affairs, Office of Ecuadorian-Peruvian Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, May 1966-April 1968

Snow, William P., Ambassador to Paraguay until June 15, 1967

Solis, Galileo, Foreign Minister of Panama until September 1964

Solomon, Anthony M., Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs (Economic Policy) until April 1965; Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs April-May 1965; Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs from June 1, 1965

Somoza Debayle, General Anastasio, Commandant of the National Guard in Nicaragua; PLN candidate for President, February 1967; President of Nicaragua from May 1, 1967

Somoza Debayle, Luis, former President of Nicaragua

Sorensen, Theodore C., Special Counsel to the President until February 29, 1964

Sowash, William B., Deputy Director, Office of Central American Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, July 1964-September 1965

Starzel, Robert F., staff assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs July 1967-July 1968

Stedman, William P., Jr., Chief of the Economic Section, Embassy in Peru, and Deputy Director, AID Mission, September 1966-July 1968; thereafter Director, Office of Ecuadorian-Peruvian Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State

Steins, Kenedon P., Officer-in-Charge of Guatemalan Affairs, Office of Central American Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, April 1964-August 1966

Stevenson, Adlai E., U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations until July 14, 1965

Stewart, C. Allen, Ambassador to Venezuela until November 28, 1964

Stoessel, Walter J. Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs September 1965-July 1968

Stroessner, General Alfredo, President of Paraguay

Sullivan, Leonor K., Representative (Democrat-Missouri); Chairman of the Panama Canal Subcommittee, House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee

Taylor, General Maxwell D., USA, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff until July 1, 1964

Taylor, Vice Admiral Rufus L., USN, Deputy Director of Central Intelligence from October 13, 1966

Tejera Par's, Enrique, Venezuelan Ambassador to the United States; also Venezuelan Representative to the Council of the Organization of American States until April 1966; chairman of the Inter-American Peace Committee (Panama Crisis) January-April 1964

Telles, Raymond, Ambassador to Costa Rica until February 19, 1967

Thomas, Charles H., II, staff assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs May 1965-March 1966

Thompson, Llewellyn E., Ambassador at Large until December 26, 1966; also Acting Deputy Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs July 1964-October 1965

Tomic Romero, Radomiro, Senator (PDC, Chile); Chilean Ambassador to the United States April 1965-March 1968

Torrijos Herrera, Lieutenant Colonel Omar, Secretary of the General Staff of the Panamanian National Guard in October 1968; thereafter Colonel, Chief of Staff of the National Guard

Trejos Fernández, José Joaquín, National Unification Party candidate for President, February 1966; President of Costa Rica from May 8, 1966

Trueheart, William C. Deputy Director for Coordination, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State, from June 1967

Tuthill, John W., Ambassador to Brazil from May 27, 1966

Tyler, William R., Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs until May 18, 1965

Udall, Stewart, Secretary of Interior

Vaky, Viron P., Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs August-December 1968; Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs from January 1969

Valdés Subercaseaux, Gabriel, Chilean Foreign Minister from November 1964

Valencia, Guillermo León, President of Colombia until August 7, 1966

Valenti, Jack J., Special Assistant to the President until May 1966

Vallarino, Colonel Bolívar, later General, Commandant of the Panamanian National Guard until October 1968

Vance, Cyrus R. Secretary of the Army until January 20, 1964; Deputy Secretary of Defense until June 30, 1967

Van Reigersberg, Fernando A., interpreter in the Language Services Division, Office of Operations, Department of State

Vásquez Salas, Jorge, Foreign Minister of Peru September 1965-September 1967

Vaughn, Jack Hood, Ambassador to Panama April 8, 1964-February 27, 1965; Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs and U.S. Coordinator of the Alliance for Progress March 22, 1965-February 28, 1966; thereafter Director of the Peace Corps

Velasco Alvarado, General Juan, Commanding General of the Army and Chief of the Armed Forces Joint Command in Peru from 1967; President of the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces of Peru from October 4, 1968

Velasco Ibarra, José María, President of Ecuador from September 1, 1968

Villeda Morales, Ramón, former President of Honduras

Walters, Colonel Vernon A., later Brigadier General, USA, U.S. Army Attaché in Brazil until June 1967

Warner, Leland W., Jr., Officer-in-Charge of Honduran Political and Economic Affairs, Office of Central American Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, August 1966-June 1968

Warnke, Paul C., Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs from August 1, 1967

Watson, W. Marvin, Jr., Special Assistant to the President February 1965-April 1968

Webster, Bethuel M., U.S. mediator in dispute between Guatemala and the United Kingdom over the status of British Honduras (Belize) October 1965-September 1968

Weissman, H. Andre, Deputy Director, Office of Brazilian Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, until November 1965

Wheeler, General Earle G., USA, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from July 3, 1964

Whiteman, Marjorie M., Assistant Legal Adviser for Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, until June 1965

Wiggins, Guy A., Officer-in-Charge of Guatemalan Political and Economic Affairs, Office of Central American Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, from February 1968

Williams, G. Mennen, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs until March 23, 1966

Williams, Murat W., Deputy Director for Coordination, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State, September 1964-June 1965

Williams, William L. S., Deputy Director, Office of Bolivian-Chilean Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, July 1964-July 1966

Wilson, Donald M., Deputy Director of the United States Information Agency until August 1, 1965

Wilson, Henry H., Jr., Administrative Assistant to the President until May 1967

Wilson, James Harold, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from October 17, 1964

Wolfe, Gregory B., Director, Office of Research and Analysis for American Republics, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State, August 1964-August 1968

Woodward, Robert F., Special Adviser, Office of Inter-Oceanic Negotiations, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, May 1965-July 1967

Yerovi Indaburçe, Clemente, President of Ecuador March 29-November 16, 1966

Zavala Ortiz, Miguel Angel, Foreign Minister of Argentina until June 28, 1966

Zuniga Augustinius, Ricardo, leader of the Partido Nacional in Honduras; Secretary of Government in Honduras until

June 1965; thereafter Minister of the Presidency

Foreign Relations, 1964-1968, Volume XXXI, South and Central America; Mexico

Released by the Office of the Historian

Index

Note: All references are to document numbers

Ackley, H. Gardner, 289
Acosta Bonilla, Manuel, 104, 106, 108, 118
Adair, Charles W., Jr., 433, 440, 443, 444, 447, 448, 449, 450, 452, 455
Adair, E. Ross, 249, 489
Adams, Robert W., 18, 26, 28, 74, 149, 151, 188, 190, 193, 198, 200, 201, 203, 208, 255, 266, 272, 349, 524
Adenauer, Konrad, 346
Adhemar Pereira de Barros, 182, 184, 186, 187, 201, 209 AFL-CIO, 81, 117, 152
Aguero Rocha, Fernando, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96
Ahumada, Jorge, 274, 276
Aiken, George, 39
Ailes, Stephen, 279, 368, 419, 421, 424, 425
Akers, Robert Wood, 302
Alejos, Roberto, 75
Aleman, Roberto, 450
Alessandri Rodriguez, Jorge, 260, 261, 264
Alexander, Archibald S. 65
Allen, Ward P., 4, 5, 7, 14, 58
Allende Gossens, Salvador, 16, 173, 303
 Chilean Presidential election of 1964, 247, 249, 250, 251, 253, 254, 259, 260, 261, 264, 268, 269
 U.S. assessment of, 251
Alliance for Progress:
 Central American Export Development Program, 119
 Coordinator for, proposed, 43
 Counterinsurgency program, 3, 4, 6, 28, 61, 63
 Democracy and dictators, approach to (Mann Doctrine), 10
 Economic program, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 51, 52, 62, 69, 71
 Fourth Anniversary celebration of, 30
 Frontier development in South America, 40
 Funding for, 15
 Gordon appointment as Assistant Secretary of State, 37
 Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress (CIAP), 1, 2, 10, 12, 13, 40, 67, 330
 Johnson visit to Central American, 111, 112
 Johnson meeting with Latin American Ambassadors, 13
 Johnson meeting with Latin American Foreign Ministers, 21
 Johnson meeting with U.S. Ambassadors to Latin America, 18
 Johnson speech (1964), 10
 Kennedy visit to Latin American, 31, 32, 33
 Military program, 11, 25, 29, 65, 66, 67
 Oliver appointment as Assistant Secretary of State, 43
 Oliver visit to Latin American, 68, 69
 Presidents' meeting in 1965, proposed, 26
 Press coverage, 2, 10, 12, 17, 49, 52
 Public relations efforts, 31, 43
 Rusk visit to Latin American, 33
Alsogaray, Alvaro C., 136, 138, 143
Alsogaray, Gen. Julio R., 128, 136
Alter, Gerald M., 313
Alves, Osvino, 205
Alves Bastos, Comdr. Justino, 192, 201
American and Foreign Power Company (AMFORP), 183, 212, 214
Ampuero Diaz, Raul, 251, 260

Anaconda Copper Company, 257, 278, 282, 284, 285, 287, 289
 Ancora, Gen. Armando de Morais, 203
 Anderson, Clinton P., 353, 536
 Anderson, Robert B., 1, 284, 452, 456
 Panama Canal treaty negotiations, 408, 409, 410, 417, 419, 421, 425, 427, 428, 429, 432, 434, 435, 437, 438, 440
 Andrade, Victor, 159
 Andreazza, Mario David, 230
 Angueiras, 456
 Anthis, Gen., 28
 Aragao, Adm. Candida, 191, 205
 Aragao, Gen. Moniz de, 240
 Arango, Augusto, 371, 450
 Arango, William, 375
 Arco Galindo, Juan de, 398
 Arenales Catalan, Emilio, 103, 113
 Argentina:
 Bolivia, relations with, 164
 Chile, relations with, 136
 Common market for Latin America, 62
 Coup of 1966, 124, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 133, 134, 136, 143
 Cuban arms cache in Venezuela, OAS resolution on, 21, 22
 Economic situation, 145
 Johnson meeting with Ongan'a, 145
 Oil expropriations, 16, 121, 122, 123, 126, 143
 Ongan'a government policies, 136, 138, 143
 Ongan'a government prospects, 146
 Political situation under Illia, 124
 Rusk meeting with Alsogaray, 143
 Rusk visit to, 33
 Uruguay, relations with, 463, 464
 U.S. economic/development assistance, 121, 122, 123, 126, 132, 142
 U.S. military/security assistance, 66, 125, 128, 129, 132, 142, 144
 U.S. policy toward Ongania government, 142
 U.S. recognition of Ongania government, 135, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141
 U.S. trade relations with, 123
 Arguedas, Antonio, 178, 179
 Arias Espinosa, Ricardo M., 422, 434, 435
 Arias Madrid, Arnulfo:
 Panama, 376, 386, 388, 395
 Coup of 1968, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452
 Coup threat in 1964, 377
 Coup threat in 1966, 430
 Presidential election of 1964, 398, 415, 416
 Presidential election of 1968, 436, 442, 443, 445, 446, 447
 Robles, impeachment of, 443, 444, 445
 U.S. policy toward Arias following coup, 453, 456
 U.S. recognition of military junta, 455
 Arosemena Gomez, Otto:
 Ecuador:
 Appointment of new U.S. Ambassador, 341, 344
 Arosemena criticism of Alliance for Progress, 330, 331, 333, 334, 335, 336
 Elections of 1966, 330
 Johnson meeting with Arosemena, 51
 Rapprochement with United States, 343, 344
 Recall of U.S. Ambassador, 340
 U.S. economic/development assistance, 332
 OAS Summit meeting of 1967, 51
 Arrais, Miguel, 182, 209
 Arriaga, Col. Rafael, 101
 Artime, Manuel (Buesa), 73

Aspinall, Wayne N., 353
 Assis Brasil, Gen. Argemiro, 205
 Assumpcao, Gen. Henrique, 240

 Baeza, Antonio, 254
 Baker, H. W., 473
 Balaguer, Joaquin, 59, 61
 Ball, George W., 193, 196, 198, 375, 498
 Alliance for Progress, 13, 26
 Argentina, 126, 128, 132, 134, 135, 139
 Brazil, 5, 76, 208
 Political crisis of 1964, 199, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207
 Chile, 256, 285, 286, 287, 288
 Panama, 368, 377, 383, 384, 393, 433
 Venezuela, 524, 529
 Baltra, Alberto, 297
 Barall, Milton, 266
 Barboza, Gibson, 238
 Bardach, Henry, 546
 Barneby, Malcolm R., 472, 478
 Barnes, Donald F., 292, 346, 352, 356
 Barr, Joseph W., 48, 65, 67, 309
 Barrientos Ortuno, Gen. René, 59, 68
 Bolivia, 154
 Communist subversion, 163
 Co-presidential arrangement of Barrientos and Ovando, 155, 156, 158
 Coup of 1964, 147, 149, 150, 151
 Guevara capture and execution, 173
 Johnson meetings with Barrientos, 162, 176
 Political crisis of 1968, 178, 179
 Presidential election of 1966, 147, 159, 160, 161
 Rusk meeting with Barrientos, 162
 U.S. covert political action program, 147, 153
 U.S. economic/development assistance, 176, 177
 U.S. military/security assistance, 154, 155, 163, 166
 U.S. recognition of Barrientos government, 152
 Barrios, Gonzalo, 535, 536, 538, 548
 Bartlett, Charles, 315
 Batista, Fulgencio, 459
 Batlle, Luis, 461
 Beale, Tom, 271
 Bedoya Reyes, Luis, 521
 Behrman, Jack N., 3
 Belaunde Terry, Fernando, 62, 65, 162
 Peru:
 Coup of 1968, 497, 499, 501, 506, 509, 510, 511
 Elections of 1967, 501
 Johnson attitude toward Belaunde, 499
 Johnson communications with Belaunde, 475, 477
 Military aircraft purchases and U.S. economic assistance, 485, 491, 492, 494, 495, 496, 499, 500, 501, 502
 Oil expropriations and U.S. economic assistance, 470, 472, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 483, 484, 486, 487, 489, 491, 500, 501, 502, 504
 Oliver visit to, 68, 69
 U.S. economic/development assistance, 505, 508
 Belize. *See* British Honduras.
 Bell, David E., 11, 25, 28, 122, 208, 216, 224, 256, 275, 276, 281, 288, 329
 Bell, John O., 18, 75, 77
 Belton, William, 236, 254, 255
 Beltran, Pedro, 501, 510, 521
 Beltran, Washington, 33

Benedetti, Eloy, 375
 Bennett, W. Tapley, Jr., 18, 356
 Berckemeyer, Fernando, 521
 Berdecio, Jaime, 154, 162
 Bergold, Harry, 349
 Berle, Adolf A., 31, 37, 47, 49, 74, 187, 284
 Berlin, Lawrence H., 334, 344
 Bernbaum, Maurice M., 55, 56, 58, 314
 Venezuela:
 British Guiana border dispute, 544
 Communist subversion, 525, 538, 539, 545, 547
 Coup threat, 531, 538
 Cuban fishing vessel, seizure of, 545, 546, 547
 Johnson meeting with Barrios, 535
 Oil exports to United States, 525, 526, 528, 533, 542, 543
 University crisis of 1967, 538
 U.S. military/security assistance, 525, 539, 547
 Bernstein, Enrique, 270
 Betancourt, Rómulo, 8, 13, 465, 522, 528
 Bloomfield, Richard J., 495
 Bogart, Gen., 375
 Bohlen, Charles E., 69, 306, 503
 Bolivia, 2
 Argentina, relations with, 164
 Chile, relations with, 162
 Common market for Latin America, 62
 Communist subversion, 59, 61, 63, 163, 164, 167, 169, 170, 172, 173
 Co-presidential arrangement of Barrientos and Ovando, 155, 156, 158
 Coup of 1964, 147, 149, 150, 151
 Cuba, possible war with, 165
 Cuban arms cache in Venezuela, OAS resolution on, 20, 21, 22, 23
 Debray trial, 164, 167, 168, 171, 173
 Guevara, capture and execution of, 163, 164, 167, 168, 170, 171, 172, 173
 Johnson meetings with Barrientos, 162, 176
 Mining industry problems, 154, 155, 157
 Oliver visit to, 68
 Political crisis of 1968, 178, 179
 Presidential election of 1964, 147, 149
 Presidential election of 1966, 147, 159, 160, 161
 Rusk meeting with Barrientos, 162
 U.S. covert political action program, 147, 148, 153, 158, 161, 174
 U.S. economic/development assistance, 165, 175, 176, 177, 180
 U.S. military/security assistance, 154, 155, 163, 164, 165, 166, 170
 U.S. objectives and courses of action, 157
 U.S. recognition of Barrientos government, 152
 Bosch, Juan, 217, 278, 465
 Boster, Davis E., 200
 Bowdler, William G., 33, 42, 43, 45, 48, 54, 56, 61, 62, 64, 68, 69, 81, 82, 83, 85, 87, 88, 109, 133, 135, 139, 140, 165, 166, 176, 177, 178, 219, 220, 231, 281, 289, 295, 297, 301, 305, 307, 308, 318, 325, 327, 328, 335, 337, 338, 443, 453, 475, 476, 481, 487, 495, 497, 498, 499, 500, 504, 531, 536, 540, 543
 Boyd, Aquilino Edgardo, 395
 Boyd, Maj. Federico, 376, 449
 Brady, Lee, 303
 Braga, Nei, 182, 187, 221
 Bravo, Douglas, 59
 Brazil, 2, 16, 18, 32, 33, 314, 338, 498
 Argentinian coup of 1966 and, 129
 Castello government, U.S. assessments of, 213, 218, 226
 Castello selection as President, 209, 211, 212
 Coffee agreement with United States, 208
 Common market for Latin America, 62

- Communist dictatorship, threat of. See Political crisis of 1964 *below*.
- Communist subversion, 24, 230
- Costa e Silva government, U.S. assessments of, 226, 229, 233, 235
- Costa e Silva policies, 243
- Cuban arms cache in Venezuela, OAS resolution on, 20, 21, 22, 23
- Dominican crisis, 217
- Economic situation, 215, 218, 224, 229, 235
- Institutional Acts restricting civil liberties, 209, 211, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 236, 237, 238, 241
- Johnson meeting with Costa e Silva, 228
- Military dictatorship, 214, 221, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 244
- Political crisis of 1964, 182
 - Coup against Goulart, 195, 197, 199, 201, 203, 205, 206, 207
 - Domestic conditions giving rise to, 185
 - Goulart campaign to seize dictatorial power, 183, 184, 187, 190, 197, 211
 - Goulart departure from Brazil, 203, 204, 207
 - Mazzilli appointment as Acting President, 204, 205, 206, 207
 - Military preparations to act against Goulart, 186, 187, 192
 - Rusk summary of events for Congressional Leaders, 208
 - U.S. contingency planning, 181, 185
 - U.S. information policy re, 188, 193, 197, 200, 202
 - U.S. recognition of new government, 203, 204, 205, 206
 - U.S. support for anti-Goulart forces, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 193, 194, 196, 197, 198, 199, 201, 202, 203, 205, 206
- Political crisis of 1965, 219
- Political purges, 209, 214
- Presidential election of 1966, 214, 218, 220, 226
- Rusk meeting with Castello, 223
- Trade relations with United States, 183
- Uruguay, relations with, 463, 464
- U.S. economic/development assistance, 196, 208, 212, 214, 215, 216, 220, 223, 224, 227, 229, 232, 234, 238, 242, 244
- U.S. military/security assistance, 65, 66, 181, 230, 231
- U.S. policy to support moderation and discourage extremism, 223
- Vietnam war, Brazilian troops for, 224, 225
- Breen, John R., 495
- Brewin, Roger C., 151, 152
- Brezhnev, Leonid I., 164
- Brinckerhoff, Charles M., 257, 287
- British Guiana, 24, 523, 524, 536, 544
- British Honduras, 76, 77, 78, 103, 113
- Brizzola, Leonel, 24, 182, 183, 184, 185, 201, 205, 209, 463
- Broe, William V., 98, 161, 166, 171, 172, 173, 291, 298, 304, 306, 457
- Bronheim, David, 51
- Brown, Aaron S., 18, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96
- Brown, George S., 109
- Bueso Arias, Jorge, 72
- Bulhoes, Otavio, 215
- Bulkeley, Adm. John D., 2
- Bundy, McGeorge, 6, 7, 13, 40, 75, 81, 82, 83, 193, 196, 197, 214
 - Alliance for Progress, 3, 10, 17, 18, 21
 - Military program, 11, 25, 29
 - Argentina, 125
 - Bolivia, 149, 150, 152, 155, 156, 157, 158
 - Brazil, 219, 223
 - Institutional Acts restricting civil liberties, 220
 - Political crisis of 1964, 185, 187, 188, 189, 191, 199, 202, 203
 - U.S. economic/development assistance, 216
 - Vietnam war, Brazilian troops for, 225
 - Chile, 249, 279
 - Copper price problem, 282, 283, 284, 286
 - Cuba, break in relations with, 265

- Dungan appointment as Ambassador, 271
- Presidential election of 1964, 246, 248, 250, 253, 256, 257, 258, 259, 261, 262, 264, 267, 268, 269
- U.S. covert political action program, 246, 248, 250, 253, 256, 257, 258, 262, 267
- U.S. economic/development assistance, 281
- Colombia, 314, 315, 317
- Cuba:
 - Cuban arms cache in Venezuela, OAS resolution on, 3, 4, 9, 19, 21, 22
 - Trade restrictions re, 3, 9, 19
 - U.S. military action in response to Cuban aggression, issue of, 19
- Guatemala, 84, 85
- Mexico, 350, 353, 354, 355
- Organization of American States, resolution on Cuban arms cache in Venezuela, 3, 4, 9, 19, 21, 22
- Panama:
 - Anti-American demonstrations, 420, 422
 - Communist subversion, 377
 - Inter-American Peace Committee involvement in Panamanian-U.S. conflict, 371, 377
 - OAS action on Panamanian-U.S. conflict, 390, 392, 399, 405
 - Presidential election of 1964, 415
 - Rioting of 1964, 368
 - U.S. interdepartmental organization for Panamanian affairs, 414
 - U.S.-Panamanian relations, breaking and resumption of, 399, 400, 403, 404, 405, 406
 - U.S. program to improve relations with Panama, 420, 422
- Panama Canal treaty negotiations:
 - Base rights issue, 420, 423
 - Congressional involvement, 425, 427, 429
 - Joint management issue, 427
 - New treaty for existing canal, 420, 423
 - Process of reaching agreement to initiate negotiations, 371, 373, 375, 378, 379, 388, 389, 390, 392, 396, 397, 399, 400, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407
 - Sea-level canal issue, 420, 423
 - U.S. policy development for, 421, 423, 425
- Paraguay, 462
- Peru, 475
- Venezuela, 527, 531
 - Cuban arms cache in Venezuela, OAS resolution on, 3, 4, 9, 19, 21, 22
- Bunker, Ellsworth, 3, 4, 7, 14, 16, 20, 21, 33, 46, 455
- Panama Canal treaty negotiations, 384, 387, 388, 402, 404, 405, 406, 407, 409
- Burnham, Forbes, 523, 524, 544
- Burrows, Charles R., 72, 74, 90, 91, 98, 101, 102, 103, 105, 106, 118
- Burton, Ralph J., 181, 185, 187, 188, 190, 191, 193, 200, 201, 202, 205, 215
- Busby, Horace, Jr., 21
- Business Group for Latin America, 253
- Bustos, Ciro Roberto, 174
- Byington, Alberto, 187

- Caamano, Col. Francisco, 278
- Caldera, Rafael, 548
- Califano, Joseph A., Jr., 3, 4, 279, 284, 286, 287, 288, 289, 532
- Calle Restrepo, Diego, 310, 311
- Camara, Helder, 240
- Camara, Jayme, 240
- Campos, Milton, 214
- Campos, Roberto de Oliveira, 212, 215
- Canada, 16, 34, 230, 288
 - Oil trade, 526, 527, 530, 532, 540, 543
- Cantilo, José Luis, 127
- Cantinflas, 356
- Caram, Angel R., 143
- Cardenas, Lazaro, 16
- Carías Castillo, Tiburcio, 117, 118

Carlson, Frank, 39, 433
 Carlson, Reynold E., 323
 Caro, Gen. Carlos Augusto, 131, 134, 136
 Carrillo Flores, Antonio, 31, 34, 42, 46, 350, 352, 356, 360
 Carriquiri, Pablo, 501
 Carter, Albert E., 412
 Carter, Lt. Gen. Marshall S., 252, 255, 272
 Carvalho Pinto, Carlos Alberto Alvers de, 182
 Castello Branco, Gen. Humberto, 26, 32, 129, 229, 465
 Brazil, 217
 Castello government, U.S. assessments of, 213, 218, 223, 226
 Castello selection as President, 209, 211, 212
 Economic situation, 215, 224
 Institutional Acts restricting civil liberties, 220, 221, 223
 Military dictatorship, 214, 221
 Political crisis of 1964, 186, 187, 192, 203, 205, 207
 Political purges, 209, 214
 Presidential election of 1966, 214, 218, 220
 Vietnam war, Brazilian troops for, 224, 225
 Castilho, Gen., 240
 Castillero Pimentel, 422
 Castro, Raul H., 179
 Castro Ruz, Fidel, 3, 6, 16, 23, 24, 59, 60, 63, 64, 101, 120, 164, 173, 178, 179, 259, 270, 356, 369, 377, 465, 522, 525
 Guevara comments on, 172
 Castro Sanchez, Eduardo, 134, 136
 Cater, S. Douglass, Jr., 67
 Cates, John M., Jr., 117, 512
 Cavalcanti, Col. Boaventura, 240
 Central American Bank, 110
 Central American Export Development Program, 119
 Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) (*see also* National Intelligence Estimates; Special National Intelligence Estimates), 75
 Bolivia:
 Communist subversion, 164, 167, 170, 173
 Coup of 1964, 151
 Debray, trial of, 168
 Guevara, capture and execution of, 163, 164, 167, 168, 170, 171, 172
 Political crisis of 1968, 179
 U.S. covert political action program, 147, 148, 153, 158, 161
 U.S. military/security assistance, 155, 165, 166
 Brazil, 193, 195
 Chile, 270, 277, 298
 Presidential election of 1964, 245, 247, 248, 250, 252, 253, 256, 257, 258, 262, 268, 269
 U.S. covert political action program, 245, 247, 248, 250, 252, 253, 256, 257, 258, 262, 269, 273, 277, 304, 306
 Colombia, 319
 Counterinsurgency program in Latin America, 28
 Cuban infiltration of Venezuela, OAS action on, 53, 54
 Guatemala, 84, 98
 Mexico, 365
 Panama, 377, 388, 422, 445, 448, 450, 454, 455
 Presidential election of 1964, 415, 416
 Peru, 471, 497
 Cerqueira, Benedito, 209
 Chamorro, Pedro Joaquin, 94, 95, 96
 Chaplin, Maxwell, 362, 363
 Chase, Gordon, 3, 4, 6, 7, 17, 150, 185, 188, 249, 256, 315, 373, 415
 Chayes, Abram J., 7, 8, 9, 203, 377
 Chiari, Roberto F., 368, 416
 Panama:

- Chiari, downfall of, U.S. planning for, 386, 388
- Communist subversion, 372
- Coup threat in 1964, 377
- Flag issue, 372
- Johnson discussions with Chiari, 370, 410
- Rio Hato base evacuation by United States, 376
- Rioting of 1964, 369, 370, 372, 375, 395
- U.S.-Panamanian relations, breaking and resumption of, 372, 376, 379, 395, 403, 410
- Panama Canal treaty negotiations:
 - Chiari miscalculations in dealing with United States, 386, 395
 - Process of reaching agreement to initiate negotiations, 370, 372, 375, 376, 377, 379, 395, 396, 403, 410

Chile, 32

- Agrarian reform, 292
- Argentina, relations with, 136
- Bolivia, relations with, 162
- "Camelot" military research project, 279, 280
- Common market for Latin America, 62
- Communist electoral victory, threat of. See Presidential election of 1964 *below*.
- Communists' alliance with Christian Democrats, 300, 301, 302, 304
- Communists' political resurgence, 298
- Congressional by-election of 1964, 248, 250
- Congressional elections of 1965, 273, 277
- Congressional elections of 1969, 304, 306, 309
- Constitutional amendment, 290
- Copper price problem, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 295, 302
- Coup threat, 305
- Cuba, break in relations with, 265
- Cuban arms cache in Venezuela, OAS resolution on, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23
- Cuban infiltration of Venezuela, OAS action on, 64
- Dominican crisis, 278, 281
- Dungan appointment as Ambassador, 271
- Economic situation, 249
- Frei government, U.S. policy toward, 266, 272
- Frei government prospects, U.S. assessments of, 270, 293, 303
- Frei conflicts within Christian Democratic Party, 296, 297, 298, 299
- Frei struggle with political opposition, 290, 305
- Johnson invitation for Frei to visit United States, 290
- Johnson meeting with Frei, 292
- Kennedy visit to, 33
- Korry appointment as Ambassador, 296
- Municipal elections of 1967, 291, 293
- National Committee election of 1967, 294
- Peru, relations with, 502
- Presidential election of 1964, 16, 20, 24, 254, 260, 274
 - Allende/Communist victory, U.S. concerns about, 249, 251, 259, 264
 - Duran candidacy, 254, 258
 - Forecasts re, 261, 268
 - Results of voting, 269
 - U.S. analysis of possible voting patterns, 250
 - U.S. business support for Frei, 253, 257
 - U.S. covert political action program, 245, 246, 247, 248, 250, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 262, 263, 267, 269
- "Revolution in Liberty" program, ending of, 303
- U.S. covert political action program (see also *under* Presidential election of 1964 *above*), 272, 273, 277, 291, 294, 304, 306
- U.S. economic/development assistance, 252, 253, 256, 260, 274, 275, 276, 278, 281, 289, 292, 295, 307, 308, 309
- U.S. military/security assistance, 66

China, People's Republic of, 24, 346

Chonchol, Jacques, 303

Christian, George E., 50, 63, 490, 509, 511, 519, 520, 540
 CIAP. See Inter-American Committee of the Alliance for Progress *under* Alliance for Progress.
 Cienfuegos, Camilo, 172
 Cintra, Gen. José Pinheiro de Ulhoa, 187, 192
 Cities Service, 16
 Clark, Edward W., 420, 421, 431, 439
 Clavel Méndez, Archbishop Tomas Alberto, 443
 Clifford, Clark M., 69, 284, 458, 498, 519
 Cline, Ray S., 155
 Cobb, William B., Jr., 523, 524
 Coelho, Juliao Marco Antonio, 209
 Coerr, Wymberley deR.:
 Chile, 278
 Ecuador, 326, 327, 328, 331, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 340
 Uruguay, 460, 461, 463
 Cole, Charles W., 245, 249, 250, 252, 253, 260, 263, 269, 272
 Collins, V. Lansing, 72, 367, 368, 377, 386, 415
 Colombia, 20, 62, 64, 68, 345
 Communist subversion, 28, 59, 61, 63, 70, 316, 323
 Congressional elections of 1966, 316, 318
 Coup threat, 310, 312, 313, 314, 316
 Panama crisis, 369
 Political/economic crisis, U.S. efforts to deal with, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 321
 Presidential election of 1966, 318, 320
 Sea-level canal issue, 377, 421, 423, 424, 428
 U.S. covert political action program, 319
 U.S. economic/development assistance, 317, 321, 322, 325
 Colwell, Thomas C., 312
 Communism in Latin America (*see also specific countries*):
 "Communist Potentialities in Latin America" report, 24
 Conference of Representatives of Latin American Communist Parties, 28
 Guerrilla problem in various countries, 59, 60, 61
 "Insurgency in Latin America" report, 38
 "Potential for Revolution in Latin America" report, 70
 U.S. counterinsurgency program, 3, 4, 6, 28, 61, 63
 U.S.-Soviet discussions re, 60
 Congo, 172, 284
 Congress, U.S., 2
 Alliance for Progress:
 Economic program, 44, 45, 48, 49, 51
 Funding for, 15
 Military program, 65
 Argentina, 141, 142, 144
 Bolivia, 152
 Brazil, 208
 Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, 249
 Mexico, 358
 OAS charter amendments, 39
 Panama, 368, 447
 Panama Canal treaty negotiations, 409, 417, 425, 427, 428, 429, 433
 Peru, 489, 490, 491, 492, 494, 495, 508, 520
 Connell, Col., 189
 Conte, Silvio O., 66, 495
 Cooley, Harold D., 16
 Cordeiro de Farias, Gen. Osvaldo, 192
 Cornford, F. M., 215
 Correa, José Antonio, 13
 Corrigan, Robert F., 101
 Corvalan, Luis, 251
 Costa, Gen. Joao, 205

Costa e Silva, Gen. Arturo da, 211, 223, 498
 Costa e Silva government, U.S. assessments of, 226, 229, 233, 235
 Johnson meeting with Costa e Silva, 228
 Military dictatorship, 240, 244
 Political crisis of 1964, 203, 205
 Political situation in Brazil, 209, 230, 238, 243
 Presidential election of 1966, 226
 U.S. military/security assistance, 230, 231

Costa Méndez, Nicanor, 138, 140, 145

Costanzo, Henry J., 311

Costa Rica, 16
 Cuban arms cache in Venezuela, OAS resolution on, 20
 Johnson meeting with Orlich, 73
 Johnson meeting with Trejos, 110
 Presidential election of 1966, 79, 80, 81, 85
 Sea-level canal issue, 421, 423, 424, 428

Costa Santos, Max da, 209

Cottrell, Sterling J., 388, 395, 400, 537

Crawford, Boyd, 141

Crawford, Gen., 188

Crimmins, John H., 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 61

Crockett, William J., 17

Crowley, John J., Jr., 340, 344, 524

Cruz Martínez, Rogelia, 100

Cuba, 356
 Batista overthrow, 459
 Bolivia, possible war with, 165
 Bolivian guerrillas and, 163, 164, 167, 168, 173
 Castro ouster, U.S. interest in, 16
 Chile, break in relations with, 265
 Chilean Presidential election of 1964 and, 259
 Colombian guerrillas and, 323
 Communist potentialities in Latin America and, 24
 Cuban arms cache in Venezuela, OAS resolution on, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23
 Cuban infiltration of Venezuela, OAS action on, 50, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 64
 Guerrilla infiltration of various countries, 59, 60
 Guevara comments on, 172
 Panamanian Communist activity and, 376, 377
 Political situation, 16
 Trade restrictions re, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 16, 19, 56
 U.S. military action in response to Cuban aggression, issue of, 7, 8, 9, 14, 16, 19
 U.S. policy toward, 6
 Venezuelan guerrillas and (*see also Cuban headings above*), 522, 525, 547
 Venezuelan seizure of Cuban fishing vessel, 545, 546, 547

Cuba, Simon, 172

Cunha Rodrigues, Adm. Paulo Mario, 191

Cutter, Curtis C., 479

D'Aguiar, Peter, 523

Dany, Maj. Gen., 449

Daza, Pedro, 292

Dearborn, Henry, 310

Debray, Jules Regis, 164, 167, 168, 171, 173

De Gaulle, Charles, 129, 183, 212, 346, 465, 492, 502

De la Garza, Eligio, 355

De la Rosa, Diógenes, 421, 435, 438

De Lavalle, Juan Bautista de, 401, 405, 406, 407

Delfim Neto, Antonio, 232, 238

Del Mar, Maj. Gen. Roland, 65

Devalle, Max, 444

Denney, George C., Jr., 155, 158, 179

Dentzer, William T., Jr., 150, 157, 253, 254, 255, 266, 274, 275, 276, 491
 De Seabra, José A., 228
 Díaz Ordaz, Gustavo, 42, 347, 502
 Mexico, 348, 349, 359
 Student disturbances of 1968, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366
 Trade relations with United States, 352, 356, 358
 OAS Summit meeting of 1967, 52
 Dillon, C. Douglas, 9
 Dios Aguilar, Juan de, 87
 Dios Carmona, Juan de, 254
 Dirksen, Everett M., 48, 208, 344
 Dodd, Bill, 369
 Doig Sanchez, Gen. Julio, 493, 500
 Dominican Republic, 16, 18, 20, 30, 32, 33, 42, 217, 278, 281, 313, 356, 465
 Communist subversion, 59, 61
 Dreier, John, 118
 Dreyfuss, John T., 128, 132, 134
 DuBois, Jules, 200
 Duke, Angier Biddle, 13, 21, 352
 Dulles, John Foster, 382
 Dungan, Ralph A., 3, 7, 17, 18, 30, 32, 144, 187, 191, 199, 202
 Chile, 248, 271, 275, 278, 293, 296
 "Camelot" military research project, 279, 280
 Copper price problem, 282, 283, 284, 286, 287
 Presidential election of 1964, 246, 250, 268
 U.S. covert political action program, 246, 250, 273, 277, 291, 294
 Mexico, 348
 Panama, 368, 376, 377, 378, 387, 400, 404
 Dunkerly, Harold, 310
 Duran Neumann, Julio, 245, 247, 248, 250, 253, 254, 261, 268, 269, 293
 Dutra, Gen. Eurico Gaspar, 187, 192, 211

 Earle II, Ralph, 109
 Eaton, Samuel D., 52, 313, 314
 Echandi, Mario, 80
 Economic integration in Latin America. *See* Alliance for Progress.
 Ecuador, 20, 51, 62, 342
 Appointment of new U.S. Ambassador, 341, 343, 344
 Arosemena criticism of Alliance for Progress, 330, 331, 333, 334, 335, 336
 Communist subversion, 59, 61
 Counterinsurgency program, 326
 Elections of 1966, 327, 328, 330
 Political crisis of 1966, 327, 328
 Rapprochement with United States, 343, 344
 Recall of U.S. Ambassador, 337, 338, 339, 340
 U.S. economic/development assistance, 329, 332, 333, 334, 336, 339, 340
 Eder, Richard G., 479
 Edwards, Augustin, 257
 Eisenhower, Dwight D., 60, 369, 370, 382, 384, 421, 498, 528
 Eisenhower, Milton S., 31, 47, 49, 67, 498
 Eleta Almaran, Fernando, 421, 422, 424, 433, 434, 435, 440, 441
 Elizalde, Félix, 130
 El Salvador, 20, 111, 112
 Emrich, Viola, 31
 Engle, James B., 28, 94
 Ensor, Andrew F., 121, 122
 Escalon, Lt. Col. Armando, 72
 Espinosa, 501
 Export-Import Bank, 79, 126, 130, 215, 274, 282, 314, 356

 Facio, Gonzalo J., 73

Favell, Thomas R., 272, 274
 Febrés Cordero, Agustin, 330
 Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), 455
 Fehmer, Marie, 475
 Fico, Gen. Nicolau, 205
 Figueres, José "Pepe," 465
 Finkel, E. Jay, 495
 Fisher, Glen H., 51
 Fitch, Lt. Gen. Alva R., 150
 FitzGerald, Desmond, 3, 4, 9, 28, 74, 154, 155, 158, 163, 166, 187, 188, 191, 193, 202, 248, 250, 254, 257, 268, 272, 415, 422
 Fitzgerald, John F., 546
 Fleming, Robert J., 367, 372, 418
 Flood, Dan, 378, 427
 Ford, Gerald R., 48
 Ford Motor Company, 359
 Foster, William C., 65
 Fowler, Henry H., 3, 41, 44, 69, 71, 227, 232, 289, 295, 310, 317, 322, 329, 334, 466, 483, 495
 Fowler, James R., 335, 502
 Fox, Lt. Col. Edward J., Jr., 149
 France, 16, 125, 168, 183, 212, 230, 231, 346
 Peruvian military aircraft purchases, 485, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496
 Franco, Francisco, 129
 Frank, Richard A., 103, 113, 439
 Frankel, Charlie, 358
 Frankel, Max, 2, 49
 Fredley, Dottie, 307, 308
 Freeman, Fulton "Tony," 345, 347, 358, 361
 Freeman, Orville L., 180, 256, 308, 309, 332, 358, 505, 508
 Frei Montalva, Eduardo, 49, 271, 278, 290, 292, 303
 Chile, 52, 292, 300, 305
 Copper price problem, 283, 285, 286, 287, 288
 Frei government, U.S. policy toward, 266, 272
 Frei government prospects, U.S. assessments of, 270, 293, 303
 Frei conflicts within Christian Democratic Party, 296, 297, 298, 299
 Frei struggle with political opposition, 290, 305
 Presidential election of 1964, 16, 20, 245, 250, 253, 254, 257, 260, 261, 262, 263, 268, 269
 U.S. covert political action program, 245, 250, 253, 254, 262, 263, 273, 291
 U.S. economic/development assistance, 276, 281, 289, 292, 307, 308
 Friedkin, Joseph F., 352, 358
 Friedman, Alvin, 28
 Friendly, Alfred, 2
 Frixione, 94
 Fulbright, J. William, 31, 32, 39, 43, 49, 51, 141, 142, 208, 392, 393, 406, 409, 433, 541
 Furtado, Celso, 212

 Gaitan, Jorge Eliécer, 319
 Galindo, Juan de Arco, 415, 416
 Gama e Silva, Luis Antonio da, 237, 240
 Gander, James, 358
 Garcia, Sergeant, 209
 Gardner, James R., 168, 174
 Gaud, William S., 28, 44, 48, 65, 67, 112, 119, 142, 180, 227, 232, 234, 289, 295, 307, 308, 309, 322, 332, 339, 432, 433, 466, 468, 483, 484, 488, 494, 495, 505, 508
 Geneen, Harold S., 256
 Gerli, Edmundo, 80
 Gestido, Gen. Oscar, 461, 466, 467, 468
 Getzin, Edmund E., 284
 Gibson, Carlos, 514
 Glaessner, Philip J. W., 495

Goldwater, Barry, 382
 Gomez, 254
 Gonzalez, Celio, 117
 Gonzalez Torres, Dionisio, 465
 Goodpaster, Gen. Andrew J., 188, 196
 Goodwin, Richard M., 17, 245
 Gordon, A. Lincoln, 18, 32, 34, 43, 47, 50, 87, 88, 127, 132, 142, 159, 162, 219, 330, 431
 Appointment as Assistant Secretary of State, 37
 Argentina, 128, 129, 135, 136, 141, 143, 144
 Brazil, 217
 Castello selection as President, 209, 211, 212
 Economic situation, 215
 Institutional Acts restricting civil liberties, 209, 211, 220, 221, 222, 223
 Johnson meeting with Costa e Silva, 228
 Military dictatorship, 214, 221
 Political crisis of 1964, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 190, 191, 192, 194, 195, 197, 198, 201, 202, 203, 205, 206, 207, 211
 Political purges, 209, 214
 Presidential election of 1966, 214
 Trade relations with United States, 183
 U.S. economic/development assistance, 212, 215, 216, 220, 223, 224
 U.S. military/security assistance, 181
 U.S. policy to support moderation and discourage extremism, 223
 Vietnam war, Brazilian troops for, 224, 225
 Chile, 289, 292, 293
 U.S. covert political action program, 291, 294
 Colombia, 318, 319, 320
 Economic program in Latin America, 41, 42, 44, 45, 52
 Frontier development in South America, 40
 Mexico, 357, 358
 Nicaragua, 91
 OAS charter amendments, 39
 OAS Summit meeting of 1967, 41, 44, 45, 51, 52
 Panama Canal treaty negotiations, 432, 433, 434, 435
 Peru, 475, 476, 483, 484, 498
 Venezuela, 540, 541
 Gordon, Allen D., 149
 Gordon, Kermit, 215
 Gore, Albert, 433
 Gorostiza, Jose, 21
 Goulart, Joao, 2, 181, 182, 183, 184, 186, 187, 190, 197, 201, 203, 204, 207, 208, 211, 221, 463
 Graham, Katharine M., 2
 Greenfield, James L., 193
 Gresham, 201, 203
 Gruening, Ernest, 10, 462
 Guatemala, 20, 24, 34, 89, 356
 Assassination of U.S. Ambassador, 114, 115, 116
 Assassinations of U.S. military personnel, 99, 100, 101, 102
 British Honduras dispute, 76, 77, 78, 103, 113
 Communist subversion, 28, 59, 61, 63, 70, 75, 86, 87, 99, 100, 115, 116, 120
 Counterinsurgency program, 100, 101, 102, 109
 Coups threat, 84, 85, 86, 98
 Presidential election of 1966, 84, 86, 87, 88
 Situation reports, 75, 86
 U.S. military/security assistance, 109
 Guerrero Gutiérrez, Lorenzo, 93, 94
 Guevara Arce, Walter, 174, 175
 Guevara de la Serna, Ernesto "Che," 59, 63, 163, 164, 167, 168, 170, 171, 172, 173, 178, 179
 Gutiérrez-Olivos, Sergio, 260
 Haiti, 21, 22, 28, 42, 338, 462

Halperin, Ernst, 259
Hammer, Mike, 117, 118
Hand, Lloyd N., 26
Harriman, W. Averell, 121, 375
 Argentina, 122
 Bolivia, 152
 Brazil, 217, 224, 225
 Chile, 278, 285, 286, 287, 288
 Counterinsurgency program in Latin America, 28
 Dominican Republic, 30
 Honduras, 72
 Kennedy, visit to Latin America, 32
 OAS Rio Conference of 1965, 34
 Panama Canal treaty negotiations, 421
Hartman, Arthur A., 65, 66, 302, 457, 495
Hatcher, Andrew, 345
Haya de la Torre, Raul Victor, 474, 487, 489, 510
Hayden, Carl T., 16, 208, 348, 353, 447
Hegarty, James, 447
Helms, Richard M., 66, 69, 157, 161, 171, 172, 173, 188, 196, 298, 368, 376, 432, 433, 441, 445, 498, 519
Henderson, Douglas, 22, 148, 151, 153, 154, 155, 158, 159, 162, 163, 166, 174, 175, 176, 178
Hendon, Robert R., 312
Hendrix, Harold V., 43
Herbert, Ray, 273
Hercelles, Oswaldo, 506
Herr, Donald F., 300
Herrera Lane, Felipe, 264
Herron, Francis W., 542
Herz, 230
Hickenlooper, Bourke B., 21, 48, 49, 122, 141, 249, 409, 427, 429, 433, 472, 476, 479, 514, 520
Hill, John Calvin, Jr., 314, 319, 533, 536, 543, 544
Hilliker, Grant G., 149
Holt, Pat, 144
Honduras, 20, 28, 72
 Elections of 1964, 74
 Elections of 1968, 104, 105, 106, 108
 El Salvador, conflict with, 112
 Rusk meeting with Zuniga, 117
 U.S. anti-government involvement, alleged, 117, 118
 U.S. anti-Zuniga policy, 74, 106, 107, 108
Hoover, J. Edgar, 365
Hornig, Donald F., 67
Hoyt, Henry A., 22, 122, 123, 459, 460, 463
Hughes, Thomas L., 35, 66, 179, 252, 255, 270, 272, 290, 412, 446, 447
Humphrey, Hubert H., 10, 67, 69, 409
 Costa Rica, 79, 80, 81
Hurwitch, Robert A., 253, 255, 258

Ibanez, 303
Illia, Arturo Umberto, 33, 121, 124, 127, 130, 131, 133, 134
Illia, Ricardo, 138
Illueca, Jorge E., 16, 417, 421
Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress (CIAP). *See under* Alliance for Progress.
Inter-American Cultural Conference, 67, 68
Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), 41, 45, 48, 67, 71, 75, 342, 478, 495
Inter-American Peace Committee, 368, 371, 375, 377, 378, 379, 383, 384
Interior Department, U.S., 348, 353, 354, 358, 526, 527, 530, 532
International Development Association (IDA), 13
International Monetary Fund (IMF), 175, 215, 224, 234, 253, 309, 311, 483, 488, 506
 Colombia, 311, 313, 314, 315, 317, 325
International Petroleum Company (IPC). *See* Oil expropriations and U.S. economic assistance *under* Peru.

International Telegraph and Telephone Company (ITT), 256, 278, 470, 489

Intriago Arrata, Jose Federico, 51

Iribarren Borges, Ignacio, 20, 50, 55, 523, 524, 540, 541, 542, 544

Iribarren Borges, Julio, 50, 539

Irwin, John N., II, 426, 427, 428, 432, 433, 435

Jackson, Andrew, 382

Jagan, Cheddi B., 523, 524

Jair, Gen. Warmin, 186, 201

Jamaica, 34

Jaramillo Giraldo, Jose, 320

Javits, Jacob K., 142, 144

Jenkins, Walter W., 17, 377

Jessup, Peter, 158, 161, 166, 246, 257, 262, 267, 421

Johnson, Gen. Harold K., 65, 500

Johnson, Lyndon B., 75, 117, 132

 Alliance for Progress, 2, 10, 13, 18, 21, 37, 40, 67, 68, 119

 Central American visit, 111, 112

 Counterinsurgency program, 61, 63

 Economic program, 41, 42, 44, 45, 48, 49, 51, 62, 69, 71

 Fourth Anniversary celebration of, 30

 Funding for, 15

 Military program, 11

 Presidents meeting in 1965, proposed, 26

 Press coverage, 2, 10, 12, 49

 Public relations efforts, 31, 43

 Rusk visit to Latin American visit, 33

 Vaughn appointment as U.S. Ambassador, 409, 410

Argentina, 16, 125, 130, 133, 135, 139, 140, 141, 145

Bolivia, 2, 157, 160, 161, 163, 164, 166, 167, 168, 171, 173, 177, 178, 179, 180

 Meetings with Barrientos, 162, 176

 U.S. recognition of Barrientos government, 152

Brazil, 16, 217, 220

 Castello selection as President, 212

 Costa e Silva government, U.S. assessments of, 233

 Meeting with Costa e Silva, 228

 Military dictatorship, 244

 Political crisis of 1964, 187, 189, 193, 199, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208

 U.S. economic/development assistance, 208, 224, 227, 229, 232, 234

 U.S. military/security assistance, 230, 231

 Vietnam war, Brazilian troops for, 225

British Guiana, 536

Central American visit, 111, 112

Chile, 252, 280

 Copper price problem, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 295

 Cuba, break in relations with,

 265

 Dominican crisis, 278

 Dungan appointment as Ambassador, 271

 Frei conflicts within Christian Democratic Party, 296, 298, 299

 Invitation for Frei to visit United States, 290

 Meeting with Frei, 292

 Presidential election of 1964, 16, 253, 256, 257, 261, 267, 269

 U.S. economic/development assistance, 256, 278, 289, 295, 307, 308, 309

Colombia:

 Congressional elections of 1966, 318

 Political/economic crisis, U.S. efforts to deal with, 312, 314, 315, 317, 321

 U.S. economic/development assistance, 317, 321, 322

Communism in Latin America:

 Guerrilla problem in various countries, 59, 60, 61

 U.S. counterinsurgency program, 61, 63

- U.S.-Soviet discussions re, 60
- Costa Rica, 73, 110
- Cuba:
 - Cuban arms cache in Venezuela, OAS resolution on, 8, 9, 14, 16, 19, 21, 22
 - Cuban infiltration of Venezuela, OAS action on, 50, 53, 55, 57, 59, 60, 64
- Dominican Republic, 16, 30, 278
- Ecuador:
 - Appointment of new U.S. Ambassador, 343, 344
 - IDB loan, 342
 - Meeting with Arosemena, 51
 - Political crisis of 1966, 327, 328
 - Rapprochement with United States, 343
 - Recall of U.S. Ambassador, 337, 338
 - U.S. economic/development assistance, 329, 332, 333, 334
- Guatemala, 84, 87, 88, 99
- Image in Latin America, 43
- Mann appointment as Assistant Secretary of State, 1, 10
- Mexico, 2, 356, 358
 - Border restrictions, 359, 361
 - Freeman appointment as U.S. Ambassador, 345
 - Meetings with Díaz Ordaz, 352, 356, 360, 366
 - Meeting with López Mateos, 346
 - Migrant workers in United States, 346, 352
 - Presidential election of 1964, 16, 347
 - Salinity problem of river water from United States, 346, 348, 350, 352, 353, 355
 - Student disturbances of 1968, 365, 366
 - Trade relations with United States, 352, 356, 357
- Nicaragua, 92, 96
- Organization of American States, 39
 - Cuban arms cache in Venezuela, OAS resolution on, 8, 9, 14, 16, 19, 21, 22
 - Cuban infiltration of Venezuela, OAS action on, 50, 53, 55, 57, 59, 60, 64
 - Rio Conference of 1965, 34
 - Summit meeting of 1967, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52
- Panama, 2, 384
 - Anti-American demonstrations, 420, 422
 - Communist subversion, 369, 371, 377, 382, 396
 - Coup of 1968, 443, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452
 - Coup threat in 1964, 377, 396
 - Discussions with Russell, 369, 373, 382, 383, 391, 396, 401
 - Economic situation, 441
 - Flag issue, 373, 374
 - Inter-American Peace Committee involvement in Panamanian-U.S. conflict, 371
 - Meetings with Chiari, 370, 410
 - Meetings with Robles, 434, 435
 - Mansfield views on U.S. policy, 385
 - OAS action on Panamanian-U.S. conflict, 386, 393, 399, 401, 405
 - Presidential election of 1964, 415
 - Presidential election of 1968, 443, 445
 - Rioting of 1964, 368, 369, 370, 377, 387
 - Robles' impeachment, 443, 444, 445
 - U.S. economic/development assistance, 382, 431, 432, 433
 - U.S. interdepartmental organization for Panamanian affairs, 414
 - U.S. military intervention, planning for, 381
 - U.S. military/security assistance, 457, 458
 - U.S.-Panamanian relations, breaking and resumption of, 383, 396, 400, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 410
 - U.S. policy toward Arias following coup, 456
 - U.S. program to improve relations with Panama, 417, 419, 420, 421
 - U.S. recognition of military junta, 451, 452, 455
- Panama Canal treaty negotiations, 16
 - Agreement on treaty terms, 439

- Anderson appointment as U.S. representative, 408, 409, 410
- Congressional involvement, 409, 425, 427, 428, 429
- Delays in signing of treaties, 440, 441, 442
- Discussions with Robles re, 434, 435
- Joint management issue, 426, 427
- Mexican position, 346
- New treaty for existing canal, 421
- Process of reaching agreement to initiate negotiations, 370, 371, 373, 374, 375, 377, 378, 379, 382, 383, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 396, 397, 399, 400, 401, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 410
- Public statement on U.S. policy re negotiations, 401
- Renegotiation of agreed terms, 441, 442
- Sea-level canal issue, 378, 419, 420
- Status reports on, 428, 433, 437, 438
- U.S. contingency planning for failure of negotiations, 432, 433
- U.S. policy development for, 421, 423, 425, 431
- Paraguay, 469
- Peru, 470
 - Attitude toward Belaunde, 499
 - Communications with Belaunde, 475, 477
 - Coup of 1968, 497, 499, 507, 509, 510, 511, 515
 - Military aircraft purchases and U.S. economic assistance, 488, 489, 490, 492, 494, 495, 497, 498, 499, 500
 - Oil expropriations and U.S. economic assistance, 16, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 483, 484, 486, 487, 488, 489, 500, 504, 515
 - U.S. economic/development assistance, 508
 - U.S. recognition of military junta, 509, 511, 515, 518, 519, 520
- Sayre appointment to NSC staff, 17
- Uruguay, 16, 459, 466, 468
- Vaughn appointment as Assistant Secretary of State, 27
- Venezuela:
 - British Guiana border dispute, 536
 - Communications with Leoni, 525, 543
 - Cuban arms cache in Venezuela, OAS resolution on, 8, 9, 14, 16, 19, 21, 22
 - Cuban infiltration of Venezuela, OAS action on, 50, 53, 55, 57, 59, 60, 64
 - Meeting with Barrios, 535, 536
 - Meeting with Leoni, 50, 540, 541
 - Oil exports to United States, 525, 526, 527, 530, 532, 534, 536, 540, 543
 - Presidential election of 1968, 548
 - U.S. military/security assistance, 61, 541
- Johnson, U. Alexis, 3, 4, 5, 188, 193, 196, 201, 202, 203, 205, 207, 222, 250, 257
- Johnson, W. Thomas, 42, 69, 490, 519
- Johnston, James D., 285, 472
- Johnston, James R., 91
- Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), 25, 29, 65, 192, 196, 198, 206, 381, 471
 - Panama Canal treaty negotiations, 394, 420, 421, 437
- Jones, J. Wesley, 33, 311, 478
 - Peru:
 - Constitutional government, proposed return to, 516
 - Coup of 1968, 499, 501, 507, 510, 516, 521
 - Military aircraft purchases and U.S. economic assistance, 485, 491, 493, 495, 496, 499, 500, 501, 502
 - Oil expropriations and U.S. economic assistance, 470, 472, 474, 475, 477, 479, 480, 486, 491, 501, 514, 516, 517
 - U.S. economic/development assistance, 505, 508
 - U.S. recognition of military junta, 512, 513, 514, 516, 517
- Jones, James R., 59, 63, 234, 332, 359, 484
- Jorden, William J., 399
- Jova, Joseph John, 74, 104, 107, 108, 117, 118, 251, 252, 254, 255, 260, 263, 272, 276
- Jurema, Abelardo, 205

Kampelman, Max, 79
 Karamessines, Thomas H., 171, 172, 304
 Katzenbach, Nicholas deB., 65, 66, 67, 71, 103, 105, 109, 110, 144, 300, 302, 339, 364, 469, 494, 500, 502, 508, 512, 544
 Kaunda, Kenneth, 285
 Kemper, James S., 338
 Kendall, Brig. Gen. M.W., 449
 Kennecott Company, 278, 282, 285, 288
 Kennedy, Jacqueline, 183
 Kennedy, John F., 3, 73, 208, 346, 369, 370, 372, 376, 465, 528
 Kennedy, Robert F., 37, 94, 162, 208, 469, 479, 480
 Latin American visit, 31, 32, 33
 U.S. counterinsurgency program in Latin America, 3
 Kent, Sherman, 441
 Khrushchev, Nikita S., 16
 Kilday, Lowell C., 341
 Killoran, Thomas F., 98, 113, 117
 King, Col. J. C., 148, 187, 188, 191, 202, 203, 206, 245, 248, 252, 255, 256, 257, 377
 King, Thelma, 376
 Kitchen, Jeffrey C., 196
 Klein, Dave, 17
 Klutznick, Philip, 433
 Knoche, Enno Henry, 245
 Knowlton, Winthrop, 48
 Kohler, Foy D., 56, 58, 174, 294, 324
 Komer, Robert W., 28, 87, 88, 318, 477, 479, 480
 Koren, Henry L.T., 35
 Korp, Ralph, 215
 Korry, Edward M., 296, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 309
 Kosygin, Alexei N., 60
 Krebs, Max V., 114, 116
 Krieg, William L., 128, 134, 141, 142
 Krieger, Daniel, 240
 Krueel, Gen. Amaury, 186, 192, 201, 203, 211, 214
 Kubisch, Jack B., 185, 191, 214, 215, 222, 223, 237, 239, 241
 Kubitschek, Juscelino, 16, 182, 184, 185, 187, 197, 201, 211, 214, 215, 219, 220, 221
 Kurzman, Dan, 2, 480

 Labor organizations, 24
 Lacerda, Carlos, 182, 183, 184, 185, 187, 200, 201, 209, 214, 215, 219, 220, 221, 223, 233
 Lagarrigue, Javier, 283, 286, 287
 Lang, William E., 65, 109, 142, 166, 302, 457, 495
 Larrea, Gustavo, 343, 344
 Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA), 62
 Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO), 63, 296
 Laugerud Garcia, Col. Kjell, 101
 Lausche, Frank, 433
 Lavendero, Jorge, 297
 Leber, Maj. Gen. Walter P., 449, 452
 Leandro Mora, Reinaldo, 538, 544, 547
 Lechin Oquendo, Juan, 147, 148, 149, 154, 158
 Leddy, John M., 76, 78
 Leitao da Cunha, Vasco, 34, 217, 228, 229, 231
 Leonhardy, Terrence G., 76
 Leoni Otero, Rael, 20, 32, 296, 310, 314
 Venezuela, 531, 536
 Communist subversion, 522, 525, 538, 539, 545, 547
 Cuban fishing vessel, seizure of, 545, 546, 547
 Cuban infiltration of Venezuela, OAS action on, 50, 55, 59, 64
 Johnson communications with Leoni, 525, 543

- Johnson meeting with Barrios, 535
- Johnson meeting with Leoni, 50, 540, 541
- Oil exports to United States, 525, 526, 528, 530, 537, 540, 543
- Oliver, visit to, 68
- Political situation, 522, 530
- Rusk meeting with Leoni, 33, 528
- University crisis of 1967, 538
- U.S. military/security assistance, 61, 525, 539, 541, 547
- Lewis, Samuel W., 308, 448, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 509, 511, 520
- Lilienthal, David, 40
- Lima, Francisco R., 13
- Linder, Harold F., 79, 126, 215, 275
- Linowitz, Sol M., 42, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 56, 58, 292, 434, 483, 543
- Little, Edward S., 200
- Lizano, Eduardo, 73
- Lleras, Alberto, 314
- Lleras Restrepo, Carlos, 108, 310, 314
- Colombia:
 - Communist subversion, 59, 61, 316, 323
 - Oliver, visit to, 68
 - Presidential election 1966, 318, 320
 - U.S. covert political action program, 319
 - U.S. economic/development assistance, 322, 325
- Lodge, Henry Cabot, 498
- Lombardo Toledano, Vicente, 16
- Long, Clarence D., 66, 495
- Lopes, Lucas, 214
- López Arellano, Gen. Oswaldo, 72, 74, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 111, 118
- López Mateos, Alfonso, 10, 346, 350, 356
- Lord, Peter P., 320
- Lorscheider, Aluisio, 240
- Lott, Henrique Batista Duffles Teixeira, 221
- Lowenfeld, Andreas F., 122, 132
- Lowry, W. McNeil, 221
- Lubke, Heinrich, 502
- Luevano, Daniel M., 345
- Luisi, Hector, 467
- Lunn, Harry H., Jr., 274
- Lyon, S. C., 228

- Macedo Soares e Silva, Edmundo, 228
- Machado, Gen. Bina, 240
- Mackenna, Lucho, 303
- Macomber, William B., Jr., 49
- Maechling, Charles, Jr., 28
- Magalhaes Kelly, Juracy, 214, 219, 220, 221
- Magalhaes Pinto, José de, 182, 187, 192, 197, 230, 233, 238
- Magnet, Alejandro, 292
- Mahon, George H., 543
- Mailliard, William S., 21, 48, 520
- Manatos, Mike N., 49, 508
- Mann, Thomas C., 21, 47, 49, 67, 75, 126, 214
 - Alliance for Progress, 2, 10, 13, 15, 18, 26, 37
 - Appointment as Assistant Secretary of State, 1, 10
 - Press coverage, 2, 10, 12
 - Public relations efforts, 31
 - Argentina, 16, 121, 122, 123
 - Bolivia, 2, 157
 - Coup of 1964, 151
 - U.S. covert political action program, 148, 153
 - U.S. recognition of Barrientos government, 152
 - Brazil, 2, 16, 185, 215

- Political crisis of 1964, 181, 182, 187, 191, 193, 196, 197, 199, 200
- U.S. economic/development assistance, 216
- British Guiana, 524
- Chile, 275
 - "Camelot" military research project, 280
 - Congressional elections of 1965, 273
 - Copper price problem, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288
 - Dominican crisis, 278, 281
 - Dungan appointment as Ambassador, 271
 - Frei government, U.S. policy toward, 266, 272
 - Presidential election of 1964, 16, 245, 247, 248, 250, 252, 253, 254, 255, 257, 260, 261, 268
 - U.S. covert political action program, 245, 247, 248, 250, 252, 253, 254, 255, 257, 273
 - U.S. economic/development assistance, 274, 275, 276, 278, 281
- Colombia, 313
 - Political/economic crisis, U.S. efforts to deal with, 310, 311, 312, 314, 317
 - U.S. covert political action program, 319
- Costa Rica, 16, 73
- Cuba, 3, 7, 8, 9, 16, 20
- Dominican Republic, 16, 278, 281
- Haiti, 462
- Honduras, 72, 74
 - Presidential election of 1964, 16, 347, 349
 - Salinity problem of river water from United States, 348, 350, 353
 - Trade relations with United States, 357
- Mexico, 2, 345, 352
- OAS resolution on Cuban arms cache in Venezuela, 3, 7, 8, 9, 16, 20
- Panama, 2, 384
 - Anti-American demonstrations, 422
 - Chiari, downfall of, U.S. planning for, 386, 388
 - Communist subversion, 372, 375, 377, 395
 - Coup threat in 1964, 377
 - Flag issue, 372, 374, 375
 - Inter-American Peace Committee involvement in Panamanian-U.S. conflict, 375, 378
 - OAS action on Panamanian-U.S. conflict, 386, 388, 392
 - Rio Hato base evacuation by United States, 376
 - Rioting of 1964, 368, 369, 370, 372, 375, 377, 395
 - U.S. military intervention, planning for, 381
 - U.S.-Panamanian relations, breaking and resumption of, 372, 375, 376, 383, 395, 403, 406
 - U.S. policy toward Arias following coup, 453
 - U.S. program to improve relations with Panama, 419, 422
- Panama Canal treaty negotiations, 16
 - Anderson appointment as U.S. representative, 408
 - Chiari miscalculations in dealing with United States, 386, 395
 - Congressional involvement, 429
 - Johnson public statement on U.S. policy re negotiations, 401
 - Process of reaching agreement to initiate negotiations, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 380, 383, 391, 392, 395, 396, 397, 399, 401, 403, 404, 406
 - Sea-level canal issue, 377, 378, 419, 421, 424
 - U.S. policy development for, 421, 425
- Peru, 16, 470, 472, 475, 478, 479, 486
- Sayre appointment to NSC staff, 17
- Uruguay, 16
 - Coup threat, 459, 463
 - Political reform, U.S. encouragement of, 460, 461, 463
- Vaughn appointment as Assistant Secretary of State, 27
- Venezuela:
 - British Guiana border dispute, 524
 - Cuban arms cache in Venezuela, OAS resolution on, 3, 7, 8, 9, 16, 20
 - Johnson meeting with Barrios, 535, 536
 - Oil exports to United States, 526, 527, 529, 532, 534

Manning, Robert J., 2
 Mansfield, Mike, 42, 48, 49, 371, 383, 385, 409, 429
 Mantilla, Manuel, 547
 Mantilla Ortega, Carlos, 333, 334, 338, 341
 Manzoli, Mary K., 312
 Marambio, Gen. Tulio, 305
 Marcy, Carl, 144
 Margain, Hugo B., 357
 Margolies, Daniel F., 20, 524, 526
 Marinho, Gilberto, 240
 Mariz, Dinarte, 240
 Marks, Leonard H., 43, 69
 Martin, Edwin M., 1, 65, 122, 123, 126, 127, 128, 129, 132, 143, 144, 148, 245, 252, 302, 368, 375, 377, 378, 379, 380, 388
 Martinez, Maj. Boris, 448, 449
 Martinez Paz, Enrique, 141
 Matthews, Herbert L., 2
 Mattox, Henry E., 149
 Mayobre, José Antonio, 540, 542
 Mazzilli, Pascoal, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 209
 McCarthy, Eugene, 39, 280
 McCausland, Nicholas V., 149, 471
 McClellan, Andrew, 117
 McCloy, John J., 183, 210
 McCone, John A., 1, 3, 23, 187, 191, 196, 197, 202, 206, 208, 210
 Chilean Presidential election of 1964, 245, 252, 256, 257, 267, 269
 Counterinsurgency program in Latin America, 28
 Panama, 368, 374, 377, 387, 407, 409, 421, 423
 Vaughn appointment as Assistant Secretary of State, 27
 McCormack, Richard L., 103
 McDougal, Myres S., 7
 McGee, Gale, 433
 McGiffert, 302
 McNamara, Robert S., 11, 69, 96, 121, 157, 171, 172, 187, 191, 193, 196, 197, 357
 Argentina, 125
 Brazil, 199, 202, 206, 230
 Chile, 280, 284, 286, 287, 288
 Military program in Latin America, 25, 29
 Panama, 367, 368, 371, 373, 374, 377, 378, 381, 394, 396, 414
 U.S. program to improve relations with Panama, 417, 419
 Panama Canal treaty negotiations, 421, 423, 437
 Peru, 485, 488, 490, 494
 McNaughton, John T., 29, 187, 191, 196, 203
 McPherson, Harry C., Jr., 369, 469
 Meehan, Francis, 492
 Meeker, Leonard C., 76, 78, 103, 113, 121, 420, 421, 546
 Mein, John Gordon, 84, 85, 86, 88, 98, 99, 100, 102, 109, 113, 114, 115, 184, 201, 203
 Mejía, Gabriel, 118
 Melgar, Maj. Juan, 72
 Melo, Gen. Francisco de Assis Correia de, 203, 211
 Méndez Montenegro, Julio, 61, 75, 87, 88, 89, 98, 99, 109, 111, 113, 115, 120
 Meneghetti, Ildo, 182, 187, 205
 Mercado Jarrin, Gen. Edgardo, 514, 516, 517, 521
 Mexico, 2, 502
 Alliance for Progress, 346
 Border restrictions, 361
 British Honduras dispute, 76, 78
 Chamizal land transfer, 346, 358, 360
 Common market for Latin America, 62
 Communism concerns, 346, 365
 Cuban arms cache in Venezuela, OAS resolution on, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23

- Cuban infiltration of Venezuela, OAS action on, 64
- Cultural exchanges with United States, 356, 358
- Economic situation, 356, 366
- Freeman appointment as U.S. Ambassador, 345
- Guatemalan Communist problem and, 100
- Gulf of California nuclear desalinization plant, 358
- Johnson meetings with Díaz Ordaz, 352, 356, 360, 366
- Johnson meeting with López Mateos, 346
- Living standards in border communities, 358
- Migrant workers in United States, 346, 352
- Panama Canal treaty negotiations, 346
- Presidential election of 1964, 16, 347, 349
- Salinity problem of river water from United States, 346, 348, 350, 352, 353, 354, 355, 358
- Student disturbances of 1968, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366
- Trade relations with United States, 352, 356, 357, 358

Meyer, Cord, 248

Michelini, Zelmair, 461

Midence, Ricardo, 117, 118

Mills, Hawthorne Q., 156, 346

Minotto, James, 201, 447

Miranda, Col., 209

Molina Silva, Sergio, 270, 274, 275, 276

Moniz de Aragao, Augusto César, 192

Monroe, Lt. Comdr. Ernest, 99

Montagne Sanchez, Gen. Ernesto, 516, 521

Montiel, Gen., 90

Moody, C. G., Jr., 28

Moraes Rego, Maj., 192

Morales, 90

Morales, Morgan, 372, 375

Mora Otera, José A., 21

Morean Soto, Gen. Roberto, 538

Moreira Alves, Marcio, 236, 238

Moreno, Miguel J., Jr., 383, 384, 395, 398, 402, 404, 405, 407

Moreno Sanchez, Manuel, 348

Morgan, Thomas E., 31

Morris, Patrick F., 159, 162, 300, 301, 305

Morse, Wayne L., 10, 21, 31, 37, 39, 49, 141, 144, 208, 407, 409, 462, 508

Moscoso, Teodoro, 1, 12, 13, 470, 478

Mota, Silvio, 191

Moura, Lt. Col. Arthur S., 375

Moura Andrade, Auro de, 204, 205

Mourao Filho, Gen., 195

Moyers, Bill D., 133, 140, 202, 268, 318, 321, 327, 328, 357, 358, 368, 377, 403, 433

Murphy, Charles S., 16, 123

National Intelligence Estimates (*see also* Special National Intelligence Estimates), 218, 316, 522, 531

- NIE 80/90-64, 24

- NIE 80/90-66, 38

- NIE 80/90-68, 70

- NIE 82-66, 89

- NIE 91-65, 124

- NIE 91-67, 146

- NIE 92-67, 169

- NIE 93-66, 226

- NIE 93-68, 235

- NIE 94-63, 246

National Security Action Memoranda:

- No. 296, 414

- No. 297, 11

- No. 323, 423

No. 371, 119
 National Security Council (NSC) meetings 9, 23, 69, 206, 208, 407, 409
 Negrao de Lima, Francisco, 221, 223
 Neiva Moreira, 209
 Newberg, Dick, 215
New York Times, 2, 10, 12, 49, 156, 188, 221, 387, 479, 494, 512
 Nicaragua:
 Communist subversion, 63
 Cuban arms cache in Venezuela, OAS resolution on, 20
 Hotel siege, 92, 93, 94, 96
 Johnson meeting with Somoza, 96
 "Political Prospects in Nicaragua" report, 97
 Presidential election of 1967, 90, 91, 92, 95
 Sea-level canal issue, 377, 421, 423, 424, 428
 U.S. policy toward Somoza administration, 95, 96
 Nitze, Paul H., 65, 69, 494, 498, 500
 Nivens, Lois, 519
 Nixon, Richard M., 49
 Noland, 193

 Obregon, Roberto, 100
 O'Brien, Lawrence F., 2, 13, 427
 Oduber Quirós, Daniel, 73, 79, 80, 81
 Oechsli, L. Paul, 333
 O'Leary, Jerry, 101, 500
 Oliver, Covey T., 18, 31, 37, 56, 64, 69, 166, 168
 Alliance for Progress, 67
 Central American Export Development Program, 119
 Counterinsurgency program, 61, 63
 Economic program, 62, 69
 Military program, 65
 Appointment as Assistant Secretary of State, 43
 Bolivia, 68, 171, 172, 174, 175, 176
 Brazil, 229, 231, 232, 239
 Costa e Silva government, U.S. assessments of, 233
 U.S. economic/development assistance, 234
 British Honduras, 103, 113
 Chile, 295, 302, 306, 307, 309
 Communists' alliance with Christian Democrats, 300
 Coup threat, 305
 Colombia, 324
 Political/economic crisis, U.S. efforts to deal with, 310, 313, 314, 317
 U.S. covert political action program, 319
 Visit to, 68
 Ecuador, 335
 Appointment of new U.S. Ambassador, 341, 344
 Rapprochement with United States, 343, 344
 Recall of U.S. Ambassador, 338, 339
 U.S. economic/development assistance, 333, 334, 339
 Guatemala, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 109
 Honduras, 104, 108, 117, 118
 Latin American visit, 68, 69
 Mexico, 362, 363, 364
 Panama, 444, 448, 450, 451, 452, 456, 457
 Peru, 503
 Coup of 1968, 497, 506, 507, 511
 Military aircraft purchases and U.S. economic assistance, 485, 493, 494, 495, 497, 498, 499, 500, 502
 Oil expropriations and U.S. economic assistance, 484, 486, 487, 488, 502, 506, 516, 517
 U.S. recognition of military junta, 512, 513
 Visit to, 68, 69

Uruguay, 466, 467
 Venezuela, 68, 543, 544, 546
 O'Meara, Gen. Andrew P., 187, 191, 193, 196, 199, 202, 367, 369, 372, 375, 377, 382, 396
 Onganía, Lt. Gen. Juan Carlos, 127, 128, 129, 131, 134, 141, 143, 145, 146, 465
 Ordonez Monteagudo, Carlos Francisco, 115
 Organization of American States (OAS), 160
 Charter amendments, 34, 39, 46
 Cuban arms cache in Venezuela, OAS resolution on, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23
 Cuban infiltration of Venezuela, OAS action on, 50, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 64
 Dominican crisis, 217, 278
 Panamanian coup of 1968, 451, 452
 Panamanian Presidential election of 1968, 443
 Panamanian-U.S. conflict, action on (*see also* Inter-American Peace Committee), 384, 386, 388, 390, 392, 393, 399, 401, 405, 406
 Rio Conference of 1965, 32, 34
 Summit meeting of 1967, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52
 Organization of Central American States (ODECA), 111
 Orlich Bolmarchich, Francisco, 73, 392
 Ortega, Salvador, 114
 Orwat, Gen., 65, 109, 302
 Osorio, Gen. Oromar, 201
 Ovando Candia, Gen. Alfredo, 151, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 166

 Pacheco Areco, Jorge, 468
 Pagliai, Bruno, 365
 Palmer, Gen. Bruce, 465
 Palmer, Donald K., 62, 313, 495
 Palza, Galo, 327, 340
 Panama (*see also* Panama Canal treaty negotiations), 2, 18
 Anti-American demonstrations (*see also* Rioting of 1964 *below*), 420, 421, 422
 Canal, strategic importance of for U.S., 394
 Chiari, downfall of, U.S. planning for, 386, 388
 Communist subversion, 368, 369, 371, 372, 375, 376, 377, 382, 395, 396, 398, 421, 430
 Coup of 1968, 443, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 454
 Coup threat in 1964, 377, 396, 398
 Coup threat in 1966, 430
 Cuban arms cache in Venezuela, OAS resolution on, 20
 Economic situation, 441
 Flag issue, 367, 372, 373, 374, 375, 417
 Inter-American Peace Committee involvement in Panamanian-U.S. conflict, 368, 371, 375, 377, 378, 379, 383, 384
 Johnson discussions with Chiari, 370, 410
 Johnson discussions with Russell, 369, 373, 382, 383, 391, 396, 401
 Johnson meeting with Robles, 434, 435
 Mansfield views on U.S. policy, 385
 OAS action on Panamanian-U.S. conflict, 384, 386, 388, 390, 392, 393, 399, 401, 405, 406
 Presidential election of 1964, 398, 415, 416
 Presidential election of 1968, 436, 442, 443, 445, 446, 447
 Rio Hato base evacuation by United States, 376
 Rioting of 1964, 367, 368, 369, 370, 372, 375, 377, 387, 395
 Robles government, U.S. relations with, 416, 418
 Robles, impeachment of, 443, 444, 445
 U.S. economic/development assistance, 382, 431, 432, 433
 U.S. interdepartmental organization for Panamanian affairs, 414
 U.S. military intervention, planning for, 381
 U.S. military/security assistance, 457, 458
 U.S.-Panamanian relations, breaking and resumption of, 371, 372, 375, 376, 379, 383, 395, 396, 399, 400, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 410
 U.S. policy toward Arias following coup, 453, 456

- U.S. program to improve relations with Panama, 417, 419, 420, 421, 422
- U.S. recognition of military junta, 451, 452, 454, 455
- Vaughn appointment as U.S. Ambassador, 409, 410
- Panama Canal treaty negotiations, 16
 - Agreement on treaty terms, 439
 - Anderson appointment as U.S. representative, 408, 409, 410
 - Base rights issue, 420, 423, 428, 439
 - Chiari miscalculations in dealing with United States, 386, 395
 - Congressional involvement, 409, 425, 427, 428, 429, 433
 - Delays in signing of treaties, 440, 441, 442
 - JCS position, 394
 - Johnson discussions with Robles re, 434, 435
 - Johnson public statement on U.S. policy re negotiations, 401
 - Joint management issue, 426, 427, 428
 - Mexican position, 346
 - New treaty for existing canal, 420, 421, 423, 428, 437, 439
 - Panamanian issues of concern, 384
 - Process of reaching agreement to initiate negotiations, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 382, 383, 384, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 395, 396, 397, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 410
 - Renegotiation of agreed terms, 441, 442, 454
 - Sea-level canal issue, 377, 378, 394, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 423, 424, 428, 437, 439
 - Status reports on, 421, 428, 433, 437, 438
 - U.S. contingency planning for failure of negotiations, 432, 433
 - U.S. policy development for, 421, 423, 425, 431
 - Vaughn views on, 418
- Panama Review Committee, 414
- Panama Review Group, 414, 415, 435
- Pan American Sulphur Company, 345, 356, 534
- Paraguay, 20, 28, 62
 - U.S. economic and military assistance, 462, 465, 469
- Parker, Col. David, 367
- Parkinson, Charles Jay, 284
- Passarinho, Jarbas, 221
- Passman, Otto E., 15
- Pastor de la Torre, Celso, 470, 472, 478
- Paz Estenssoro, Victor, 2, 10, 22, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 465
- Peace Committee. See Inter-American Peace Committee.
- Peace Corps, 37, 328
- Penna Marinho, Ilmar, 217
- Peralta Azurdia, Col. Enrique, 75, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88
- Peredo, Roberto, 59
- Pereira dos Santos, Maj. Gen. Adalberto, 192
- Pérez Alfonso, Juan Pablo, 528
- Pérez de Cuellar, Javier, 514, 516, 517
- Pérez de la Cova, Carlos, 533
- Pérez Guerrero, Manuel, 525, 527, 528, 529, 533, 535, 536
- Pérez Jiménez, Gen. Marcos, 522
- Pérez Zujovic, Edmundo, 303
- Peru, 32, 162
 - Chile, relations with, 502
 - Common market for Latin America, 62
 - Communist subversion, 28, 59, 61, 471
 - Constitutional government, proposed return to, 516
 - Copper exports, 288
 - Coup of 1968, 497, 499, 501, 506, 507, 509, 510, 511, 515, 516, 521
 - Cuban arms cache in Venezuela, OAS resolution on, 20, 22
 - Elections of 1967, 500, 501
 - Johnson attitude toward Belaúnde, 499
 - Johnson communications with Belaúnde, 475, 477
 - Kennedy visit to, 33

Land reform, 473
Military aircraft purchases and U.S. economic assistance, 485, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502
Oil expropriations and U.S. economic assistance, 16, 33, 470, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 483, 484, 486, 487, 488, 489, 491, 500, 501, 502, 504, 506, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517
Oliver visit to, 68, 69
Political crisis of 1967, 493
Special Police Emergency Unit, 471
Tuna conflict with United States, 483
U.S. economic/development assistance (*see also* Military aircraft purchases and U.S. economic assistance *above*; Oil expropriations and U.S. economic assistance *above*), 505, 508
U.S. military/security assistance (*see also* Military aircraft purchases and U.S. economic assistance *above*), 65, 66, 471
U.S. recognition of military junta, 509, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520

Petersen, Lawrence L., 546
Phelps Dodge company, 282
Phillips, Richard I., 10
Phillips, Robert M., 334, 340
Pico Mantilla, Galo, 51
Pinera, José, 274, 275
Pinheiro, Israel, 221, 223
Pinilla Fabrega, Col. José, 448
Pistarini, Gen. Pascual Angel, 127, 128, 131, 134
Plaza, Galo, 451
Poats, Rutherford M., 109, 500
Ponciano, Col. Miguel Angel, 84, 85, 87, 101
Poole, Richard A., 512
Porrás, Hernán, 435
Portela de Melo, Jaime, 237, 240
Porter, Gen. Robert W., Jr., 65, 101, 443, 452, 496
Prado, Julio, 340, 343
Prat, Jorge, 250
Prestes, Luis Carlos, 183, 214, 221
Pringle, Sandy M., 142
Proper, Datus C., 237
Pryce, William T., 255, 272
Puerto Rico, 530, 532, 540
Pugliese, Juan C., 123, 127, 129
Punta del Este Conference. *See* Summit meeting of 1967 under Organization of American States.
Purcell, Graham, 520

Quesada Zapiola, Carlos A., 143
Quintanilla, 502
Quintero, Col. Abel, 456
Quirós Sasso, Mario, 73

Rabanal, Rubén, 138
Rademaker Grunewald, Augusto Hamann, 211
Ramírez, Roberto, 108
Randolph, Virgil B., 524
Ray, Manolo, 73
Raymont, Henry, 2
Read, Benjamin H., 26, 149, 155, 156, 157, 314, 355, 457, 481, 487, 519
Reed, Lear, 455
Reedy, George E., 21, 193, 202, 345, 409
Reid Cabral, Donald, 21
Reis, Herbert K., 76
Reis, Gen. Newton, 240
Resor, Stanley R., 432, 437
Reston, James B., 49
Reuss, Henry S., 48

- Reuther, Walter, 81
- Reynaga Gordillo, Aniceto, 172
- Reynaldo, Gen., 240
- Rhodesia, 284, 285, 288
- Richardson, Ralph W., 248
- Richardson, Richard, 175
- Rielly, John, 79
- Rimestad, Idar, 339
- Ritchie, Edgar, 543
- Rivas, 94
- Rivers, Mendel, 429
- Roberts, Juanita, 475
- Robinson, John P., 254, 274, 276
- Robles Méndez, Marco:
 - Panama:
 - Anti-American demonstrations, 422
 - Coup threat in 1964, 377
 - Coup threat in 1966, 430
 - Johnson meeting with Robles, 434, 435
 - Presidential election of 1964, 398, 415, 416
 - Presidential election of 1968, 443, 445
 - Robles government, U.S. relations with, 416, 418
 - Robles, impeachment of, 443, 444, 445
 - U.S. economic/development assistance, 433
 - Panama Canal treaty negotiations:
 - Agreement on treaty terms, 439
 - Delays in signing of treaties, 440, 441, 442
 - Johnson discussions with Robles re, 434, 435
 - Sea-level canal issue, 418, 424
- Rockefeller, David, 49, 253, 257
- Rodríguez Adame, 356
- Rogers, William D., 18, 215, 266, 274
- Rogers, William P., 309
- Rojas Pinilla, Gen. Gustavo, 319, 320
- Romero Loza, José, 175
- Roosevelt, Franklin D., 384
- Rostow, Walt W., 15, 39, 50, 68, 69, 112, 119, 132, 145, 165, 292
 - Alliance for Progress, 13, 40, 61, 63, 67
 - Economic program, 41, 42, 44, 45, 48, 62, 71
 - Military program, 25, 65, 67
 - Public relations efforts, 31
- Argentina, 130, 133, 135, 139, 140
- Bolivia, 160, 161, 166, 175, 176, 179, 180
- Guevara, capture and execution of, 163, 164, 167, 168, 171, 172, 173
- Brazil:
 - Costa e Silva government, U.S. assessments of, 229, 233
 - U.S. economic/development assistance, 216, 227, 229, 232, 234, 244
 - U.S. military/security assistance, 230, 231
- Chile:
 - Copper price problem, 289, 295
 - Frei conflicts within Christian Democratic Party, 296, 297, 298, 299
 - U.S. economic/development assistance, 289, 295, 307, 308, 309
- Colombia, 321, 322, 325
- Communism in Latin America, 59, 61
- Costa Rica, 110
- Cuban infiltration of Venezuela, OAS action on, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 64
- Ecuador, 335, 342, 343
 - Recall of U.S. Ambassador, 337, 338
 - U.S. economic/development assistance, 329, 332, 333
- Mexico, 356, 358, 359
 - Border restrictions, 361

- Student disturbances of 1968, 365
- Trade relations with United States, 357
- Nicaragua, 92
- Organization of American States:
 - Cuban infiltration of Venezuela, OAS action on, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 64
 - Rio Conference of 1965, 34
 - Summit meeting of 1967, 41, 42, 44, 45, 47, 48
- Panama, 435
 - Coup of 1968, 443, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 454
 - Economic situation, 441
 - Presidential election of 1968, 442, 443, 445
 - Robles impeachment of, 443, 444, 445
 - U.S. economic/development assistance, 432, 433
 - U.S. military/security assistance, 457, 458
 - U.S. policy toward Arias following coup, 456
 - U.S. recognition of military junta, 451, 452, 455
- Panama Canal treaty negotiations, 435
 - Congressional involvement, 433
 - Delays in signing of treaties, 440, 441, 442
 - Renegotiation of agreed terms, 441, 442
 - Status reports on, 433, 437, 438
 - U.S. contingency planning for failure of negotiations, 432, 433
- Paraguay, 469
- Peru, 473
 - Coup of 1968, 497, 507, 509, 510, 511
 - Elections of 1967, 500
 - Military aircraft purchases and U.S. economic assistance, 488, 489, 490, 492, 494, 497, 498, 499, 500
 - Oil expropriations and U.S. economic assistance, 475, 476, 477, 480, 481, 483, 484, 486, 487, 488, 489, 500, 504
 - U.S. economic/development assistance, 508
 - U.S. recognition of military junta, 509, 511, 515, 518, 519, 520
- Uruguay, 466, 468
- Venezuela, 61, 540, 541, 543, 548
 - Cuban infiltration of Venezuela, OAS action on, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 64
- Rowan, Carl T., 28
- Rowell, Edward M., 72
- Rowen, Henry, 433
- Ruda, José María, 123
- Ruiz Novoa, Maj. Gen. Alberto, 310, 314, 319
- Ruser, Claus W., 109
- Rusk, Dean, 27, 32, 69, 73, 75, 84, 86, 96, 112, 119, 252, 357
 - Alliance for Progress, 30
 - Economic program, 41, 45, 46, 48, 52
 - Johnson meeting with Latin American Foreign Ministers, 21
 - Military program, 11, 25
 - Press coverage of, 52
 - Visit to Latin American, 33
- Argentina, 121, 126, 130, 134, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145
 - Visit to, 33
 - U.S. trade relations with, 123
- Bolivia, 168, 171, 172, 179
 - Coup of 1964, 151
 - Meeting with Barrientos, 162
 - U.S. recognition of Barrientos government, 152
- Brazil, 217
 - Coffee agreement with United States, 208
 - Costa e Silva government, U.S. assessments of, 233
 - Economic situation, 224
 - Institutional Acts restricting civil liberties, 222, 223, 241
 - Meeting with Castello, 223

- Military dictatorship, 237, 239, 241
- Political crisis of 1964, 187, 191, 193, 194, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 206, 207, 208
- Political crisis of 1965, 219
- U.S. economic/development assistance, 224, 244
- British Guiana, 523, 544
- British Honduras, 77, 78, 103
- Chile:
 - Agrarian reform, 292
 - "Camelot" military research project, 280
 - Communists' alliance with Christian Democrats, 301
 - Coup threat, 305
 - Dungan appointment as Ambassador, 271
 - Frei government, 270, 272, 290, 305
 - Johnson meeting with Frei, 292
 - Presidential election of 1964, 20, 252, 253, 268
 - U.S. economic/development assistance, 275, 309
- Colombia, 318
 - Political/economic crisis, U.S. efforts to deal with, 313, 314
 - Presidential election of 1966, 320
- Costa Rica, 79
- Cuba:
 - Cuban arms cache in Venezuela, OAS resolution on, 3, 5, 8, 9, 14, 20, 22, 23
 - Cuban infiltration of Venezuela, OAS action on, 54, 56, 58, 64
 - U.S. military action in response to Cuban aggression, issue of, 8, 9, 14
 - Venezuelan seizure of Cuban fishing vessel, 546
- Ecuador:
 - Appointment of new U.S. Ambassador, 341
 - Arosemena criticism of Alliance for Progress, 330
 - Recall of U.S. Ambassador, 337, 338
 - U.S. economic/development assistance, 334
- Guatemala, 77, 78, 99, 103, 115, 116
- Honduras, 117
- Mexico, 349, 358, 360
 - Salinity problem of river water from United States, 348, 354
 - Student disturbances of 1968, 362, 363, 366
- Organization of American States:
 - Charter amendments, 39
 - Cuban arms cache in Venezuela, OAS resolution on, 3, 5, 8, 9, 14, 20, 22, 23
 - Cuban infiltration of Venezuela, OAS action on, 54, 56, 58, 64
 - Rio Conference of 1965, 34
 - Summit meeting of 1967, 41, 44, 45, 46, 48, 52
- Panama, 374, 375, 444, 446, 447
 - Chiari, downfall of, U.S. planning for, 386, 388
 - Coup of 1968, 450
 - Coup threat in 1964, 377
 - Inter-American Peace Committee involvement in Panamanian-U.S. conflict, 371, 377
 - Johnson meeting with Robles, 435
 - OAS action on Panamanian-U.S. conflict, 384, 386, 388, 393
 - Rioting of 1964, 368
 - U.S. economic/development assistance, 431
 - U.S. interdepartmental organization for Panamanian affairs, 414
 - U.S. military/security assistance, 458
 - U.S.-Panamanian relations, breaking and resumption of, 371, 403, 406, 407
 - U.S. policy toward Arias following coup, 456
 - U.S. recognition of military junta, 452
- Panama Canal treaty negotiations, 420, 423, 432
 - Agreement on treaty terms, 439
 - Chiari miscalculations in dealing with United States, 386
 - Congressional involvement, 409
 - Delays in signing of treaties, 440

- Johnson public statement on U.S. policy renegotiations, 401
- Joint management issue, 426, 427
- Pre-negotiations agreement, 371, 372, 375, 377, 379, 380, 392, 393, 396, 399, 401, 403, 406, 407
- Status reports on, 437
- U.S. policy development for, 431
- Paraguay, 465
- Peru:
 - Coup of 1968, 497, 506, 511, 515
 - Military aircraft purchases and U.S. economic assistance, 485, 490, 492, 494, 495, 498
 - Oil expropriations and U.S. economic assistance, 473, 487, 506, 513, 515
 - U.S. military/security assistance, 471
 - U.S. recognition of military junta, 512, 513, 515, 518, 519, 520
- Uruguay:
 - Coup threat, 459, 463
 - Economic and political situation, 467
 - Political reform, U.S. encouragement of, 463
 - Visit to, 33
- Venezuela:
 - British Guiana, possible intervention in, 523
 - British Guiana border dispute, 544
 - Cuban arms cache in Venezuela, OAS resolution on, 3, 5, 8, 9, 14, 20, 22, 23
 - Cuban fishing vessel, seizure of, 546
 - Cuban infiltration of Venezuela, OAS action on, 54, 56, 58, 64
 - Meeting with Leoni, 33, 528
 - Oil exports to United States, 528, 529
- Russell, Richard B., 369, 373, 382, 383, 391, 396, 401, 429
- Saccio, Leonard J., 131, 132, 136, 137, 138
- Saez, Raul, 286, 287, 288, 292, 299, 303
- Salans, Carl F., 76, 103, 142
- Salimei, Jorge, 143
- Salinger, Pierre, 2, 368, 400
- Saltonstall, Leverett, 409
- Samudio Avila, David, 375, 443, 445, 446, 447
- Sanchez, Camilo, 116
- Sanchez de Lozada, Enrique, 151
- Sanchez Gavito, Vicente, 2, 16, 21, 387, 388, 392, 399
- Sanders, Irving L., 467
- Sanders, Terry B., Jr., 448
- Sandlin, Marlin E., 16, 345, 534
- Sandoval, 104, 106
- Sanjines-Goytia, Julio, 162, 165
- Sanz de Santamaria, Carlos, 2, 13, 311, 314, 330
- Sapena Pastor, Raul, 462, 465
- Sarmiento, Gen. Siseno, 192, 205, 237, 240
- Saunders, Patricia A., 284
- Sause, Oliver L., Jr., 76
- Sayre, Robert M., 11, 18, 21, 22, 25, 26, 30, 32, 48, 52, 56, 58, 65, 67, 69, 75, 76, 78, 91, 99, 102, 105, 106, 107, 126, 132, 134, 141, 142, 144, 152, 155, 158, 165, 166, 214, 216, 222, 263, 291, 293, 294, 300, 306, 312, 313, 319, 330, 334, 337, 339, 350, 352, 354, 357, 419, 421, 437, 439, 440, 462, 467, 472, 485, 495, 498, 536, 540
 - Appointment to NSC staff, 17
- Schick, René, 85
- Schilling, Paulo, 182
- Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr., 12, 13, 27
- Schnittker, John, 468
- Schultze, Charles L., 44, 45, 48, 227, 232, 281, 289, 295, 317, 322, 329, 332, 466, 468, 483, 488
- Schweitzer, Pierre-Paul, 325
- Scranton, William, 382, 498
- Sea-level canal issue. *See under* Panama Canal treaty negotiations.

Seddon, Comdr., 448, 450, 456
Sedgwick, Charles, 80
Seeger, Pete, 362
Seidenman, Neil A., 50, 435, 473, 540, 541
Seixas Doria, Joao, 209
Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 21, 31, 48, 64, 141
Senior Interdepartmental Group (SIG), 65, 66, 109, 302, 494
Seoane, Edgardo, 470, 510
Sessions, Edson O., 344
Sevilla Sacasa, Guillermo, 108
Shankle, A. Perry, 300, 305
Sharp, Frederick D., III, 495
Shaw, Gen., 129
Sheehan, Neil, 494
Shlauderman, Harry, 455
Shriver, R. Sargent, 37
Shullaw, J. Harold, 76, 103
Shumate, John P., Jr., 506
Siles, Hernan, 149
Siracusa, Ernest V., 487, 496, 516, 517
Slater, John, 524
Sloan, Frank K., 185, 196, 205
Smathers, George, 48
Smith, Bromley K., 9, 23, 41, 69, 139, 192, 206, 208, 346, 377, 407, 409, 445, 476, 481, 519
Smith, Ian D., 284
Smith, J. F., 334
Smith, W. Y., 21
Snow, William P., 462, 465
Sola, Angel A., 127, 145
Solis, Galileo, 371, 372, 375, 376, 378, 379
Solomon, Anthony M., 18, 41, 50, 51, 56, 58, 62, 145, 196, 274, 275, 276, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 359, 486, 527, 529, 540, 541, 542, 543
Somoza, Gen. Anastasio "Tachito," 79, 85, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 108, 111
Somoza, Luis, 94, 95
Sorensen, Theodore C., 7, 382, 389
Sosa, Yon, 75
Souto Malan, Alfredo, 192
Soviet Union, 3, 6, 9, 28, 183, 259, 264, 356
 Communism in Latin America, 24, 60
 Cuban infiltration of Venezuela, OAS action on, 58, 60
Sowash, William B., 78
Special Group, 245, 246, 247, 248, 250, 252, 257, 258
Special Group (CI), 28, 72, 151, 471
Special National Intelligence Estimates, 120, 213
 SNIE 80/90-2-68, 66
 SNIE 83.3-67, 97
 SNIE 84-1-68, 454
 SNIE 84-64, 398
 SNIE 84-66, 430
 SNIE 84-67, 436
 SNIE 98-65, 464
Standard Oil of Indiana, 16
Starzel, Robert F., 101, 108
Stedman, William P., Jr., 491, 505, 506
Steins, Kenedon P., 76
Sternfeld, Ray, 67, 142
Stevenson, Adlai E., 9, 382, 389, 392, 419
Stewart, C. Allen, 4, 310
Stoessel, Walter J., Jr., 56
Stroessner, Gen. Alfredo, 10, 462, 465, 469
Suarez, Leopoldo, 121
Suarez Guzman, Gen. Hugo, 151

Sukarno, Ahmed, 221
 Sullivan, Leonor K., 427, 429
 Sulzberger, Arthur O., 49
 Sweet, William, 230
 Swett, Herbert D., 117
 Symington, Stuart, 66, 495, 508
 Szulc, Tad, 2, 10, 12

Taubman, Louis, 346
 Tavares, Gen. Lyra, 240
 Taylor, A. Thomas, 252
 Taylor, Henry L., 406
 Taylor, Gen. Maxwell D., 3, 4, 187, 191, 196, 199, 202
 Panama, 367, 381, 394
 Taylor, Adm. Rufus L., 65
 Teitelboim, Volodia, 303
 Teixeira, Brig. Gen. Francisco, 205
 Tejera Paris, Enrique, 20, 375, 384, 536, 541, 542, 543, 544
 Telles, Raymond, 73, 80, 81, 358
 Temple, Larry, 508
 Tennessee Gas, 16
 Then, Joe, 118
 Thompson, Llewellyn E., 9, 153, 158, 267, 269, 277, 279
 303 Committee, 147
 Bolivia, 153, 158, 161, 167, 168, 174
 Chile, 262, 267, 269, 273, 277, 294, 306
 Ecuador, 326
 Thurston, Raymond L., 338
Time magazine, 310
 Timmons, Benson E.L., 22
 Tomic, Radomiro, 274, 275, 286, 287, 292, 298, 300, 301, 303
 Torrijos Herrera, Lt. Col. Omar, 448, 449, 452, 454
 Townsend, Andres, 501
 Trejos Fernandez, José, 80, 81, 108, 110, 111
 Trinidad and Tobago, 34, 52
 Tristan, Fidel, 73
 Trivelli, Hugo, 303
 Trouyet, Carlos, 357
 Trucco, Manuel, 380
 Trueheart, William C., 174, 179
 Truman, Harry S, 287, 406
 Turkel, Harry, 358
 Tuthill, John W., 37, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 238, 240, 242, 243
 Tyler, William R., 523

Udall, Stewart, 350, 353, 354, 358, 526, 528, 529, 530, 534, 543
 Ullos, Manuel, 506
 Unger, Maj. Gen. F.T., 381
 United Fruit Company, 117
 United Kingdom, 284, 285
 British Guiana border dispute, 524, 536
 British Honduras dispute, 76, 77, 78, 103, 113
 Cuba, trade restrictions re, 16
 Peruvian military aircraft purchases, 492
 Peruvian oil expropriations, 470, 473, 478
 United Nations, 371
 Uribe, Eduardo, 314
 Urrutia, Col. Bolívar, 448, 449, 456
 Uruguay, 16
 Argentina and Brazil, relations with, 463, 464
 Coup threat, 459, 463, 464
 Cuban arms cache in Venezuela, OAS resolution on, 20, 21, 22, 23

Economic and political situation, 464, 467
Political reform, U.S. encouragement of, 460, 461, 463
Rusk visit, 33
U.S. economic/development assistance, 466, 468

Vaky, Viron P., 102, 113, 115, 179, 237, 239, 241, 453, 455, 457, 506, 512, 546, 547
Valdés Subercaseaux, Gabriel, 270, 275, 278, 292, 303
Valencia, Guillermo León, 311, 312, 314, 315, 316
Valenti, Jack, 381, 382, 534
Vallarino, Col. Bolívar, 367, 375, 377, 398, 443, 444, 447, 448, 449, 456
Vance, Cyrus R., 3, 4, 28, 75, 157, 158, 202, 257, 267, 421, 485, 498
Panama, 368, 369, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 381, 382, 384, 391, 396, 415
Van Reigersberg, Fernando A., 51, 123, 143
Vasquez Salas, Jorge, 473, 487
Vaughan, Jack Hood, 16, 18, 29, 31, 47, 49, 74, 75, 81, 84, 86, 154, 156, 157, 222, 271
Alliance for Progress, 27, 30, 32
British Honduras, 76
Colombia, 313, 314
Costa Rica, 79
Guatemala, 76
OAS Rio Conference of 1965, 34
Panama, 390
Anti-American demonstrations, 421, 422
Appointment as U.S. Ambassador to, 409, 410
Communist subversion, 421
Presidential election of 1964, 415, 416
Robles government, U.S. relations with, 416, 418
U.S. program to improve relations with Panama, 417, 419, 422
Panama Canal treaty negotiations, 418, 420, 427
U.S. policy development for, 421, 425
Peace Corps appointment, 37
Peru, 471, 472, 473
Velarde, Fabian, 378
Velarde, Leon, 507
Velasco Alvarado, Gen. Juan, 510, 511, 513, 514, 521
Velasco Ibarra, José María, 344
Venezuela, 16, 32, 296, 314
British Guiana, possible intervention in, 523
British Guiana border dispute, 524, 536, 544
Common market for Latin America, 62
Communist subversion (*see also Cuban headings below*), 20, 24, 28, 63, 70, 522, 525, 531, 538, 539, 545, 547
Coup threat, 531, 537, 538
Cuban arms cache in Venezuela, OAS resolution on, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23
Cuban fishing vessel, seizure of, 545, 546, 547
Cuban infiltration of Venezuela, OAS action on, 50, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 64
Johnson communications with Leoni, 525, 543
Johnson meeting with Barrios, 535, 536
Johnson meeting with Leoni, 50, 540, 541
Oil exports to United States, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 532, 533, 534, 536, 537, 540, 542, 543
Oliver visit to, 68
Political situation, 522, 530, 537
Presidential election of 1968, 548
Rusk meeting with Leoni, 33, 528
University crisis of 1967, 538
U.S. military/security assistance, 61, 66, 525, 539, 541, 547
Vidal Zaglio, Luis, 33
Vidigal, Gastao, 205
Vietnam war, 224, 225, 465
Villeda Morales, Ram—n, 72, 107

Walker, Robert G., 272
Walters, Col. Vernon A., 181, 192, 209, 214, 217, 221, 223, 225, 239
Warner, Leland W., Jr., 105
Warnke, Paul C., 69, 498
Washington Post, 2, 188, 221, 469, 502
Watson, W. Marvin, Jr., 31, 285, 427, 486
Webber, Col. John, Jr., 99, 101, 102
Webster, Bethuel M., 78, 103, 113
Weed, Clyde E., 257
Weismann, H. Andre, 26
Welles, Ben, 335
Wessin y Wessin, Gen. Elias, 465
Wheeler, Gen. Earle G., 28, 65, 69, 206, 437, 519
White, Robert, 117, 118
Whiteman, Marjorie M., 7, 524
Wiggins, Guy A., 101, 103
Wilkowski, Jean M., 104
Williams, G. Mennen, 2
Williams, Murat W., 153, 159
Williams, William L. S., 151
Willis, James P., 80
Wilson, Donald M., 3, 4, 28, 368
Wilson, Harold, 492
Wilson, Henry H., Jr., 429
Wimert, Lt. Col. Paul, 156
Winchell, Walter, 389
Wolfe, Gregory B., 312
Woodward, Robert F., 427, 428
World Bank, 79, 110, 130, 215, 234, 309
Colombia, 313, 314, 315, 317, 325

Yarborough, Ralph, 355, 358
Yarborough, Gen. William, 129
Yerovi, Clemente, 327, 328, 329
Yohn, Michael, 363, 364
Yriart, Juan, 459, 460, 467

Zabala, José, 275
Zaldivar, Andrés, 303
Zambia, 284, 285, 288
Zavala Ortiz, Miguel, 123
Zuniga Augustinius, Ricardo, 72, 74, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 117, 118
Zwick, Charles J., 180, 234, 307, 308, 309, 508